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Total Deleted Page(s) = 4
Page 8 ~ b3; b6; b7C; b7D; b7E;
Page 9 ~ b6; b7C; b7D;
Page 12 ~ b6; b7C; b7D;
Page 13 ~ b6; b7C; b7D;

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOI/PA
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET
FOI/PA# 1346870-0

Total Deleted Page(s) = 4
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FBI

Date: 10/12/71

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

REGISTERED MAIL

(Priority)

TO :

FROM :

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau is the September-October, 1971 issue of the "Columbia Journalism Review" (10th Anniversary) entitled, "The First Amendment on Trial" with sub-caption, "After the Pentagon Papers - Special Issue".

It is noted that the above publication contained an article by BEN H. BAGDIKIAN captioned, "What Did We Learn".

b3
b7E



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

New York, New York
October 12, 1971

The 10th anniversary issue of the "Columbia Journalism Review", September-October, 1971, entitled, "The First Amendment on Trial", with the additional caption, "After the Pentagon Papers - Special Issue", contained an article written by Ben H. Bagdikian captioned, "What Did We Learn". Bagdikian is the "Washington Post's" Assistant Managing Editor for National News and author of the recent book, "The Information Machines". A copy of Bagdikian's article is attached hereto.

[REDACTED]

The May, 1971 issue of "Esquire" magazine contains an article by [REDACTED] entitled "The Letters Power". According to [REDACTED] in this article, ILM WILKES BARRE, PA, who was then an Assistant Editor with "The Washington Post", spoke to [REDACTED] in Boston during the evening of June 16, 1971 and thereafter flew from Washington, D.C. to Boston, Massachusetts.



Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 7/24/59

FROM : SAC, BOSTON

SUBJECT:

Business and telephone directories at Providence reflect that JACKSON-1-5432 is listed to BEN H. BAGDIKIAN, 312 Morris Avenue, Providence, a reporter for the Providence Journal-Bulletin newspapers at Providence.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to:

Report of:
Date: 5-3-60

Office: Memphis

File Number:

Title:

Character:

Synopsis:

BEN BAGDIKIAN,
reporter of "Providence Journal" newspaper, Providence, R. I.,
furnished background information regarding "The Patriot"

b3
b7E



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Cincinnati, Ohio
March 20, 1968

On March 18, 1968

a leaflet captioned "Militarism - Poverty",

The leaflet notes that in April, the poor will be walking the streets in Washington for jobs, and asks:

"Will you give \$10 to get one person to Washington?"

"Will you provide a home for the children of parents, or parent, who goes to Washington?"

"Will you go to Washington and walk with your unemployed brother?"

The leaflet designates the action, "Operation Bread Basket", of The Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

The leaflet indicates it emanated from the Ohio-Washington Campaign Committee, 7902 Hough Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio, in cooperation with the Ohio Peace Action Council, 66 East Fifteenth Avenue, Columbus, Ohio.

A copy of the leaflet is attached hereto.

57-100-107

Can we support a needless war in Vietnam and deny the war of poverty in America?

In April the Fair are walking the streets of Washington for jobs.

Will you give \$10 to get one person to Washington?

Will you provide a home for the children of parents, or parent, who goes to Washington?

Will you go to Washington and walk with your unemployed brother?

OPERATION BREAD BASKET

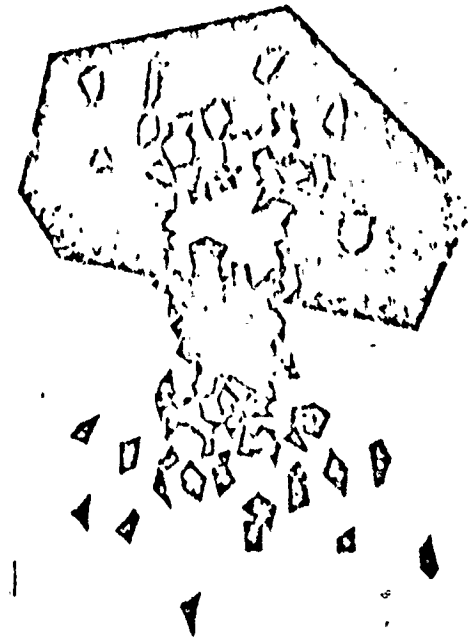
The Southern Christian Leadership Conf.
Dr. Martin Luther King, President

Ohio-Washington Campaign Committee
7902 Hough Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio 44103

in cooperation with:

Ohio Peace Action Council
6 East 15th Avenue
Columbus, Ohio 43201

Militarism



Poverty

LIFE EXPECTANCY: 17 Years

INFANT DEATH RATE: 236 out of every 1000

YEARLY INCOME: less than \$200

Facts on one of the "backward" countries?

Q2 These are statistics on a group of American Indians living among the most affluent society the world has ever produced. Their story--early death, infant mortality, illiteracy, unmitigated poverty--is repeated across our entire nation. It is found over vast areas like Appalachia; it is found in small pockets within the country's richest cities. The sharecropper, the miner, the Negro, the Indian; what have they to say of vital importance to every American?

Their loss is ours. In the families of the poor are 12,000,000 children--in the traps of poverty. Unless their demands can be justly met within our culture and economy, their despair will become an ever-increasing part of the American heritage.

IN THE MIST OF PLENTY
by Ben H. Bagdikian

The physical and mental well-being of all America, not just the poor, is declining.

Consider the irretrievable loss to the nation in dollars, and lives, and hopes, when two-thirds of the budget is military and defense related. Our national resources of talent and money are being drained by the war, nuclear bombs that no one needs, extra community services directed at the symptoms (mental and physical sickness) of poverty, rather than the cause.

How will we recover the \$300,000 to kill one Viet Cong?

How will we benefit when only 73¢ a day welfare is allotted to a person's food, clothing, and personal expenses? One-fourth of America is living on less than \$3,000 per family of four. The defense industry is creating jobs only for those that can compete with skilled machines. The hard-core of unemployed is growing in spite of the war.

"Speech at this sad day is at once, we must at once. I speak as a child of God and in the suffering people of Vietnam. I speak for those whose land is being laid waste, whose homes are being destroyed, whose culture is being subverted. I speak for the people of America who are suffering the same kind of spiritual and physical death and corruption in Vietnam. I speak as a citizen of the world, for the world as it stands aghast at the pain we have to see. I speak as an American to the leaders of my own nation. The great initiative in this war is ours. The initiative to stop it must be ours."

BEYOND VIETNAM
by Dr. Martin
Luther King, Jr.

"There are no military solutions to human problems; violence and bloodshed are no answer to human anguish."

VIETNAM: CRISIS OF CONSCIENCE
by Abraham J. Heschel

MAILED

OCT 3 1967

NAME CHECK

October 2, 1967

BEN HAIG BAGDIKIAN
Born: January 30, 1920
Marash, Turkey

No investigation pertinent to your inquiry has been conducted by the FBI concerning the captioned individual. The files of this Bureau, however, reveal the following information which may relate to the subject of your name check request.

Ben H. Bagdikian wrote a series of newspaper articles in June, 1955, which were critical of several phases of loyalty investigations concerning government employees. The files reveal that Bagdikian entered the United States at New York City in June, 1920, and subsequently obtained his citizenship on a derivative basis through his father, Aram Theodore Bagdikian.

Original and 1 - NACC - DISCO
Request Received - 9/11/67

(4)

NOTE: Above data taken from letter to White House, 7/20/67, in answer to name checks on Bagdikian and another individual.

REC 5

OCT 3 1967

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency. This reply is result of check of FBI investigative files. To check arrest records, request must be submitted to FBI Identification Division. Fingerprints are necessary for positive check.

53 OCT 9 1967

July 20, 1967

BY LIAISON

~~_____~~
The White House
Washington, D. C.
~~_____~~

Reference is made to your name check request concerning ~~_____~~, and Ben H. Bagdikian.

Mr. Ben Haig Bagdikian, a contributing writer of "The Saturday Evening Post" magazine, who was born on January 30, 1920, in Marash, Turkey, has not been the subject of an investigation by the FBI. However, our files reveal that Mr. Bagdikian, who entered the United States at New York City in June, 1920, and subsequently obtained his citizenship on a derivative basis through his father, Aram Theodore Bagdikian, wrote a series of newspaper articles in June, 1956, which were critical of several phases of loyalty investigations concerning Government employees.

1 - ~~_____~~ (sent direct)
1 - ~~_____~~ (sent direct)

1 - ~~_____~~ (sent direct)

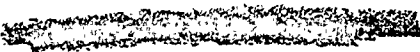
NOT RECORDED

176 JUL 21 1967

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Wick _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

ORIGINAL FILED IN 9-41594-7


Civil fingerprints were located in the files of the FBI Identification Division which may be identical with those of Ben H. Bagdikian. Those fingerprints were searched through the criminal files of the Identification Division and no arrest record was located.

A copy of this communication has not been sent to the Attorney General.

Sincerely yours,

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

DATE: 5-23-61

FROM :

SUBJECT: BEN HAIG BAGDIKIAN
WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT FOR
THE PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND,
"JOURNAL-BULLETIN"

Captioned individual prepared a feature article concerning the Director's 37th Anniversary and, throughout the entire item, made a number of snide comments relative to the FBI and to Mr. Hoover. The Director has noted: "See that Bagdikian is not on our mailing lists and gets no cooperation. H." He also described Bagdikian's article as "utter bunk." Bagdikian is not on any of the Bureau's mailing lists.

BEN HAIG
Bufiles indicate that Bagdikian was born on 1-30-20 in Marash, Turkey. He entered the United States at New York City on 6-1-20, when he was approximately two months old, and subsequently obtained citizenship on a derivative basis through his father, Aram, who was naturalized 3-29-26. Bagdikian was employed by the Providence "Journal-Bulletin" about 2-15-47, having come to Rhode Island from Monroe, Louisiana.

BEN Bagdikian previously wrote a series of six articles captioned, "What Price Security," which appeared in the "Washington Star" May 29 through June 3, 1955. These were critical of several phases of the loyalty investigations of Government employees.

1 - [redacted] enclosure
1 - [redacted] - enclosure

HHA:mb

(5) JUN 16 1961 XEROX
JUN 14 1961

REC-64

62-47717-16
17 JUN 13 1961

CRIME RES.

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

5-23-61

RE: BEN HAIG BAGDIKIAN

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

Hoover

Continued From Page One

Bureau of Investigation. Mr. Hoover exacted the promise, "No politics, no outside influence." Then he took the job.

From a sleepy agency spending most of its time investigating anti-trust suits and interstate prostitution, the organization, renamed Federal Bureau of Investigation in 1935, has become today an organization with an almost sacred status in the country. a \$125,000,000 annual budget and 6,000 special agents throughout the country. It checks on everything from radical politics to stolen Navy bulldozers.

There is little doubt that some of this growth would have occurred because of world conditions, but there also is little doubt that it has happened the way it did because of the continuous leadership of Mr. Hoover. He has done it with the use of firm discipline (agents are careful how they dress, have their desk drawers inspected without warning to make sure all is in order), a careful detachment from partisan politics, the introduction of scientific techniques and one of the most proficient public relations operations in the American government.

Grew With the War

The biggest enlargement of the F.B.I. came with World War II. In 1939, President Roosevelt directed the F.B.I. to coordinate all matters relating to espionage and sabotage. This caused a ten-times increase in F.B.I. manpower. It also started a rivalry between intelligence services that exists to this day.

President Roosevelt's directive expanded F.B.I. jurisdiction to include Western Europe. With the start of the war, President Roosevelt created another intelligence operation, the Office of Strategic Services, for the purpose of secret activity, as opposed to just the collection of information. Head of the O.S.S. was Gen. William Donovan.

General Donovan had been an assistant attorney general in the Department of Justice when Mr. Hoover was rising in the bureaucracy and it was no secret that he and Mr. Hoover were not the best of friends. But it

ARTICLE

A Charmed Life: J. Edgar Hoover

By BEN H. BAGDIKIAN

Journal-Bulletin Washington Correspondent

Washington — Today is the 37th bureaucratic anniversary of Washington's most durable agency chief, J. Edgar Hoover, and comes at a time when his trade, cops and robbers plus cloak and dagger, is under public fire.

But Mr. Hoover is not likely to suffer, since his career represents one of the most charmed and continuous bureaucratic lives in official Washington.

Furthermore, he has the comforting experience of watching his chief rival in American intelligence operations, Allan W. Dulles, head of the Central Intelligence Agency, get roasted in public and checked on in private as a result of the CIA's role in the recent Cuban invasion failure.

Some have speculated that Mr. Hoover might even succeed Mr. Dulles as head of CIA. But this is highly unlikely. Although the name, J. Edgar



J. Edgar Hoover

although he has almost single-handedly raised the status of detective to one of Chief Hero in America society, it is not likely that he or his agency will benefit substantially from any changes in the structure of CIA.

Mr. Hoover, now 66, first went to work for the government as a messenger in the Library of Congress, studied law at night at George Washington University and then became a file clerk in the Department of Justice. In 1919 he became a special assistant to Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer for the mass deportation of aliens, an episode Mr. Hoover is said to look back on unhappily.

By the early 1920s gross corruption in government, including the Department of Justice, called for a clean sweep. A new attorney general, Harlan F. Stone, asked John Edgar Hoover, then 29, to become acting director of the Department's

Continued on Page 19, Col. 1

Hoover, since his accession to chief of the Bureau of Investigation on May 10, 1924, has become a household phrase, and

See that Bagdikian is not on our mailing list & go to no co operation.

ENCLOSURE

62-11717

17 JUN 13 1961

EX-116

REC-64

is unlikely that this was the basic cause of F.B.I.-O.S.S. hostility. It is more likely that rival secret police organizations hate each other fiercely because they operate in private and do not have to be held accountable for their relations.

There were areas where the F.B.I. and O.S.S. overlapped in function and at times they spoiled each other's operations against suspected enemy agents. This is not unknown among other intelligence agencies.

Postwar Readjustment

As the war's end approached, it became plain that some permanent worldwide intelligence system would be needed in the postwar period. Late in 1944, President Roosevelt asked General Donovan to draw up plans for such an agency.

What General Donovan proposed was essentially the Central Intelligence Agency, which would collect and direct intelligence activity outside the United States, work then being conducted by half a dozen separate and often rival groups, including at least one each from the three armed services, the F.B.I., the State Department, Treasury, private concerns and others. General Donovan's top secret report was famous for yet another reason: It was the basis for one of the biggest leaks of wartime secrets.

General Donovan issued four copies. One went to President Roosevelt, one to the Joint Chiefs of Staff, one to the O.S.S. and one to J. Edgar Hoover. General Donovan, expecting some bureaucratic infighting, put each of the four reports in slightly different language, although their substance was the same.

On Feb. 9, 1945, the Chicago Tribune, an anti-Roosevelt newspaper, published the secret report, calling it a plan of the New Deal "to pry into the lives of citizens at home." O.S.S. men insist that the language of the Chicago Tribune story was from the J. Edgar Hoover copy of the report.

F.B.I. Operations Shrink

The C.I.A. was created in 1947 and forced the F.B.I. to retire from most of its foreign operations. The F.B.I. and C.I.A. have quietly warred on each other ever since.

Thus, one can imagine that J. Edgar Hoover, beginning his 38th year as chief of his agency, looks with some interest at his chief rival, Mr. Dulles, being buffeted in his 8th year. Mr. Dulles, 68, had planned to re-

tire this summer and it is generally conceded that because C.I.A. intelligence is blamed for some of the Cuban invasion failures some of the subchiefs at C.I.A. will go also. The C.I.A. has been criticized for being insufficiently sophisticated in world politics, its agents too old-school-tie, and Mr. Dulles too prone to speechmaking.

However, these are not very different from the criticisms that occasionally are made of the F.B.I. Mr. Hoover's politics, while carefully nonpartisan, have tended to be compounded of rigid conservatism and sentimentality, his agents detectives rather than political analysts, and Mr. Hoover himself an indefatigable speechmaker and warning-issuer, with such declarations regularly pressed upon local newspapers and civic clubs by his 6,000 special agents.

Criticism Unusual

It is not common to see public criticism of Mr. Hoover, but it has occurred from time to time. The late Sen. George W. Norris said, "Mr. Hoover has an organization, maintained at public expense, writing speeches for him. . . . When he makes a speech, a copy is sent to practically every newspaper in the United States. . . . A detective who advertises his exploits every time he gets an opportunity . . . will in the end be a failure."

Other national figures in intelligence operations have from time to time criticized Mr. Hoover or the F.B.I. The former chief of Treasury intelligence, Elmer Irey, in a book declared that Mr. Hoover often took credit for successes that other agencies accomplished. James Lawrence Fly, former chairman of the Federal Communications Commission and onetime Justice Department official, has said, "Hoover sets his F.B.I. above the law and moves in defiance of the Supreme Court." The New York Times once said that F.B.I. possession of dossiers on each national lawmaker constitutes "possessive powers over Congress."

But the overwhelming popular expression about Mr. Hoover is one close to adulation. One of his most ardent admirers, former U.S. Attorney General J. Howard McGrath of Rhode Island, once said, "The American people simply will not countenance any criticism of J. Edgar Hoover."

Despite impending changes in American secret operations and the 37th anniversary of the Hoover F.B.I., the bureau yesterday appeared normal. Mr. Hoover, a bachelor who likes Lawrence Welk and the Dick Tracy comic strip, was planning no special observance.

His day at the Bu-

Waterbury, Conn. 11

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO :

DATE: June 23, 1959

FROM :

SUBJECT:

"THE NEWSMAGAZINES"
by Ben H. Bagdikian
Reprinted from
"The Providence Journal-Bulletin"
October 5-17, 1958

SYNOPSIS:

Review of captioned reprint, a series of 12 articles on news-magazines by Ben H. Bagdikian, Journal-Bulletin staff writer.

The author analyzes and compares the "Big Three" among news magazines reaching nearly 10,000,000 persons each week, which he designates as "Time," "Newsweek," and "U.S. News & World Report." Stating that each of the three magazines has had its particular interests in the news and has tended to fit the presentation of the facts to those interests, he adds that the general bias of the three magazines is all on the same side of the American political arena.

"U.S. News & World Report," the author states, comes the nearest to the journalistic tradition of objectivity and records dutifully the official news and some of the opposition while pursuing with enthusiasm, imagination and overwhelming space the ideas dearest to the editor's heart.

"Newsweek" does not seem to be so dominated by a single strong set of political-social opinions or a powerful personality, however, one feature which detracts from its value as a news organ is its persistent self-promotion. The author feels it is the least biased of the three.

"Time," the magazine with the largest circulation and the best equipped and staffed, is treated the least kindly by the author. He points out the known inaccuracies in fact, but says the key is not what "Time" says, but how it says it. "Time," he says, is religiously committed to Modern Republicanism and sets out various examples.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

(6)

ENCLOSURE

53 JUL 6 1959

EX-132

REC-11

62-94717-9
24 JUN 25 1959

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 14-8-307

PURPOSE:

You requested a review of the captioned reprint furnished you

"THE NEWSMAGAZINES"

This is a reprint of a series of 12 articles on newsmagazines by Ben H. Bagdikian, Journal-Bulletin staff writer. The author states that "Each week a politically crucial bloc of American voters--perhaps as many as 10,000,000 men and women--have arranged before their eyes a neatly reconstructed picture of the nation and the world. This arrangement is through the pages of the Big Three among news magazines." Designating the "Big Three" as "Time," "Newsweek," and "U.S. News & World Report," the author states that each magazine tells its readers it is devoted mainly to news.

Mr. Bagdikian then proceeds to analyze these three magazines as to circulation, content, bias and accuracy, at the same time comparing the three on each issue. In 1957, the net paid weekly circulation of "Newsweek" was 1,119,000, but it was being approached rapidly by "U.S. News & World Report" which has tripled its circulation in eight years and in 1958 was reported to be over 1,000,000. "Time" has twice that circulation.

The author states that each of the three magazines has had its particular interests in the news and has tended to fit the presentation of the facts to those interests. The general bias of the three magazines, says the author, is all on the same side of the American political arena. "U.S. News & World Report" has a net impact that agrees with its editor's ultra-conservative political and social opinions. Its technique of printing large quantities of primary documents in public affairs, however, means that opposing points of view see the light of day, even though overbalanced by material agreeing with the editor. "Newsweek" appears to fluctuate between orthodox business-and-trade interests and straight news; but, its apparent lack of unity makes it less dogmatic. "Time" is religiously committed to Modern Republicanism. When "Time's" dominant political interest is not threatened, however, it takes independent lines on civil liberties and other nonpolitical matters.

U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT

Mr. Bagdikian states that it may be encouraging to some that the newsmagazine closest to the journalistic tradition of objectivity, "U.S. News & World Report," has been growing the fastest in recent years. "If one characterized the treatment by 'U.S. News & World Report' of integration--and of other issues with which the Editor strongly disagrees," says Bagdikian,

"one could say that it records dutifully the official news and some of the opposition. And it pursues with enthusiasm, imagination and overwhelming space the ideas dearest to his (the Editor's) heart."

NEWSWEEK

Of "Newsweek," Mr. Bagdikian says that one feature that detracts from its value as a news organ is its persistent self-promotion. According to the author, "Newsweek" does not seem to be so dominated by a single strong set of political-social opinions or a powerful personality as do "Time" and "U.S. News & World Report." He adds that the magazine appears less unified and more loosely edited, and this seems to add to its reputation of being less biased in its presentation of the news than "Times."

TIME

Mr. Bagdikian treats "Time" the least kindly of the three. He states that "Time" has the most effective network of information gatherers in the United States, in terms of intensive coverage of particular subjects; on occasions its work is distinguished, showing by contrast the superficial coverage of other magazines and of many newspapers; "Time" frequently answers in its stories the simple human questions that the hardboiled types of journalism ignore; "Time" can develop the possibilities of a news event more imaginatively than almost any other news organization in the world; and the magazine's writing and editing is bright, sometimes brilliant. "But," he asks, "is it The Truth?"

The author remarks that the elusiveness of Truth in terms of contemporary men and current policies must have worried the editors of "Time" occasionally, but if so, they have spared the reader this human doubt. Each week the world is created absolute and dogmatic, the good guys on one side, the bad guys on the other, with "Time" holding the only scorecard. He points out, however, that when the reader checks back he discovers that the simple world of one year develops messy complications the next, or that the good guy of October may be the bad guy of January, that Truth and Time change.

He states that while "Time" has been known to be inaccurate in its facts, the key is not what "Time" says, but how it says it. He adds that the bias does not usually keep important facts out of "Time," but sympathetic facts are presented with dignity and joy; unsympathetic facts are presented with ridicule and contempt. As examples, Bagdikian pointed out that "Time's" reporting of appearances of both Eisenhower and Stevenson at a farmer's gathering in October, 1956, titled the Eisenhower story "Ike's Promise," while the Stevenson story was titled "Adlai's Pitch." Bagdikian further states

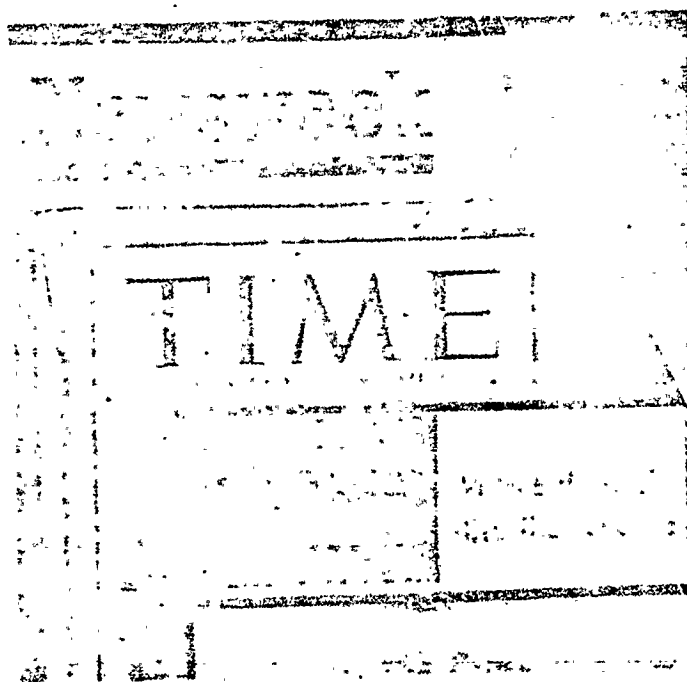
that "Time's" treatment of the campaign in 1956 was so consistently biased that it would be reasonable to label it campaign literature. While Eisenhower regularly "dwelt" on subjects or stated them, Stevenson "cried."

CONCLUSION

The problem of the American newsmagazine, according to the author, is that it presents a subtly loaded political story or a dramatically oversimplified one to an audience conditioned to having outright political argument labeled. The problem is compounded by the fact that the news-magazines go largely to middle-class readers who probably do not have a high interest in literary analysis and political sophistication.

The Newsmagazines

By Ben H. Bagdikian



Reprinted from
The Providence Journal-Bulletin

Oct. 5-17, 1958

This series of 12 articles on newsmagazines, a new phenomenon in this generation, was done by Ben H. Bagdikian, Journal-Bulletin staff writer, who wrote "Pitchmen of the Press," a prize-winning study of four American columnists and commentators in 1950. In 1956 he was awarded an Ogden Reid Foundation Fellowship for a study of the press in England, France and Italy.

Printed and Distributed by
Promotion Department
PROVIDENCE JOURNAL COMPANY
75 Fountain Street
Providence, R. I.

Page

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Baltimore17
Chicago16
Chicago16
London12
New York15
New York16
Some places where Three	
sets at a higher than average	
price are	
Los Angeles30
Los Angeles28
Manchester, N.H.29
San Francisco29
San Francisco28

Yet plainly, there are factors other than the third newspapers governing the story of news-making rates. Los Angeles, for example, has a rate of news-making that is virtually twice that of any other city in its large news market. Yet its high rates of time could also stem from the splash Hollywood makes on the national news and the story of a many of its others in how that splash is recorded in the mass media.

Washington, on the other hand, has two serious newspapers, but also has newspapers and news-magazine sales of \$2.5 billion. It is the sales are high, probably because the paper, more often with headlines, and other exaggerated headlines which generate most national news and whose

This part of the subject of New York's history has been covered by the late Dr. James H. Brown, more than half a century ago, in his book "New York as World Report Series".

And no matter what criticism can be made of the magazines' content, their success is based largely on the serious desire of readers to get an idea of what goes on in the world. It is an era of instant communication—revolutionary changes and alarming pressures and an endless stream of news. It is natural and encouraging that the sports editor pauses occasionally and acknowledges what is important.

It seems legitimate to inquire into how fair, how accurate, how reasonable are the charges against the news magazines presented to their public.

Most newspapers cling to the ideal some say out-moded—that the reporter should let the news speak for itself, that the reporter should record the facts of an event objectively, and not tell the reader what he thinks they mean.

The late Liner Davis once
said

Thus, the success of the newsmagazines is based partly on the failure of newspapers, if the pattern of variation of sales in certain cities means anything. The magazines' growth is also a sign that there is an unmet popular demand for simple, dramatic interpretation of the news.

If the newsmagazines often make the news too simple and too dramatic, they survive, because the popular hunger is there.

The major question then becomes: who is the man who interprets the news, what is his record for accuracy, for integrity, for fairness, for rationality, for respect for the need of the citizen to know all the facts, is it ever pleasant and unpleasant?

It is one of the ironies of the Big Three news-magazines that the proprietor with a reputation for the most extreme personal political bias, publishes a news-magazine with a reputation for being the least biased of the three.—U.S. News & World Report.

How justified is that reputation?

U.S. News, Fast-Rising Giant

"This page presents the
opinions of the Editor."

tack it militantly, the "illegality" (his quotation marks) of the Supreme Court decision on racial integration, the dangers of "New Deal experimentalism," the "dicta-

Lawrence became a financial reporter, started a syndicate and in 1926 began a column devoted to a report of government decisions and announcements called "U.S. Daily." At the same time, he wrote an interesting conservative daily column. Of new appears in 250 daily papers. While a former employee, Drew Pearson, and wife, Isabel, remain in New York were commentators of the New Deal in the 1930's. Lawrence became known as one of the most

• David Lawrence: ... has the ability to appear sweetly reasonable while making the most highly prejudiced statements or opinion.

conservative commentators in
the 1940s

By 1939 Lawrence had considered the magazine as much of a failure as the "U.S. News" magazine of the present magazine. What happened afterward may be depressing to some who share impersonal news presentation. "U.S. News" had no visible Nas Ten years ago he married a "V. J. girl" and a bias or point of view, began to be "sent to jail." It became successful from that time on.

The circulation in 1951 went to 22,000 in 1957 is thought to be over

1,000,000 today. This is about the same as Newsweek, half as much as Time. It is believed that U.S. News World Report could make two or three times its present profits if it did not pour so much into news space. But its growth certainly is related to this generous allocation of space to the reader. (Lawrence's 60 per cent interest is held in trust will go on his death to the employees who already own 40 per cent.)

Among the features of this growing giant are . . .

Lengthy tape-recorded interviews with important news sources, printed verbatim in

important part in determining the results of elections, and the American people have the right to know the facts.

The American people have the right to know the facts.

The American people have the right to know the facts.

The American people have the right to know the facts.

The American people have the right to know the facts.

In terms of space, as reported by U.S. News & World Report, Time and Newsweek are the two major competitors. In 1954, Time published 1,100 pages of news, 1,100 pages of news, and Newsweek, 1,100 pages of news. Total news space in 1954, 1,100 pages of news, 1,100 pages of news, 1,100 pages of news.

U.S. News & World Report, 12 for Newsweek, and 16 for Time.

This by itself is no measure of net value to the reader. Time and Newsweek summarize, which could conceivably be more useful than the lengthy primary documents published by U.S. News & World Report. And Time and Newsweek devote considerable space to cultural intellectual-entertainment life, but U.S. News & World Report almost none.

But for political and economic reporting, Time and Newsweek plainly are outdistanced in space and detail by their younger rival.

The News—With a Heavy Weight

A study by the University of Chicago School of Journalism of the 1954 political campaign shows that Time printed 34,000 words of campaign news, Newsweek some 11,000, and U.S. News & World Report only one per cent toward the Republicans, the rest neutral.

But this study, evidently looked only for editorially inserted words of bias. U.S. News & World Report daily heavily printed reproduction of the words of others. The Chicago study did not measure a pertinent factor—how balanced and fair was the selection of persons whose words were accurately reported? And in what editorial surroundings were these words placed?

A study of this year's U.S. News & World Report shows that 100 sources who are editorially accurate and interesting focal points of discussion. But it also shows that taken together they do not form a balanced picture of national opinion.

In the first six months of

this year, for example, there were 100 interviews with 27 representatives of large corporations. There were almost none from labor or the opposite wing of corporate opinion. There were textual reprints from heads of the car manufacturing corporations, none from the unions. Or, prices, wages and profits were taken from General Motors, head of General Motors, Roger M. Blough, chairman of U.S. Steel, and Benjamin F. Fairless, president of the American Iron & Steel Institute, but none from the opposite side.

Where the magazine searched for editorial sources, they tended to be on the side of the editor's opinion. For example, on March 21 the magazine reported as news the monthly newsletter of the First National City Bank of New York. Its message was that Germany is more prosperous than England because Germany has a free enterprise system and England is a semi-socialist one. No representation was made of the obvious editorial or even contrary factors in understanding the two economies.

Literally, the selection of space and source are biased toward

the Lawrence view. Of speech texts from 12 politicians, 11 are conservatives or conservative-moderates. (Styles Bridges, Harry Byrd, Lyndon Johnson, John Stennis) and only one (Hubert Humphrey) is on the other side of the Congressional spectrum.

On Jan. 21 a series of texts on the coming political campaign formed a republican-verse-democratic debate by way of speeches selected by the editors. The three Republicans (President Eisenhower, Nixon and Sherman Adams) started off with three and three-tenths pages; the three Democrats (Sam Rayburn, Humphrey and Dean Acheson) were at the end with seven-tenths of one page, or only 18 per cent of the total space for that feature.

Typically in the magazine there is hard news, there is give-and-take, and, typically, there are legitimate individual sources accurately reproduced who add up to a solid net profit in space and emphasis for the Lawrence opinions.

This is not to say that anti-Lawrence opinions are excluded. In actual wordage, there are probably more in U.S. News & World Report than in Time, Newsweek, or, indeed, in the liberal New Re-

...and the conduct of the effort is heavily weighted in favor of the Communists.

The report is confirmed by other sources. It is confirmed by the fact that the Communists have been able to obtain arms from the Soviet Union and from other sources. It is confirmed by the fact that the Communists have been able to obtain arms from the Soviet Union and from other sources.

...in fact, it was necessary to go to the Soviet Union to obtain arms. It was necessary to go to the Soviet Union to obtain arms. It was necessary to go to the Soviet Union to obtain arms.

This was the week of the Latin American mobs attacking Vice President Nixon and the French Army revolt in Algeria. The head introduction said "V once flared last week on far continents."

Back of almost all of it is Communist direction."

Yet, it was plain that the French Army revolt was not Communist. And the fact that the Communists were the first to say that Communism was not the basic explanation for the mobs in Latin America. In fact, these points were borne out by the reports of the magazine's own correspondents.

Over the first-hand story of Robert Kleiman, U.S. News & World Report correspondent, the magazine headlines read: "Communist-supplied arms ... played a major part in Paris police still anxious to win the fight." It is in this situation that French officers finally returned.

But the story this headline described made almost the opposite point. Kleiman made much of "intimidation by right-wing leaders." The only material in his story the headline could refer to was one sentence in the 17th paragraph: "To win the Al-

gerian war, General Massu maintained that the flow of rebel arms from neighboring Tunisia must be halted. Some of these arms come from Communist sources."

A boxed display thrust into the middle of the story reported announced "TUNISIA IN CONFLICT" Rebel attacks have been increasing recently as Communist arms flood in from ex-Gen. Thibault."

Then on the starting line of the "Business World" the theme was "supported" by "Bureaus their firebrands are with brickbats. The Communists have time to poke around in the trouble spots of the business world." Fifteen lines later it added that Communist infiltration may not be aiming primarily at weakening Western economies, but at solving their own surplus problems.

The bustling internationalism of Lawrence appears in a dramatic play on Page 43 entitled "When U.S. Is In-Involved in 1911-1915 Ago." It noted that 44 years ago when Mexico arrested seven American sailors and then refused to apologize or to release the U.S. flag and five British sailors, American soldiers invaded Mexico and occupied Vera Cruz for seven months. The display then reported that by contrast when the Vice President was spat on by mobs, American soldiers were sent only to nearby countries, not right into Venezuela.

The headline repeated the theme again on Sept. 5, 1955, in an article on the murder by hoodlums of three Americans. It printed a two-third of-a-page display recalling 19th century American enforcement of payments by other countries, with the title—"In the Past When Americans Have Been Killed Or Attacked Abroad."

The theme COMMUNISTS FORCING SHOWDOWN? is over another piece of text that does not support it.

"On the spot, in South America, the answers come quickly from leaders, from the people."

"Are South Americans going Red? No."

"What bothers them then? U.S. neglect, the U.S. position, U.S. trade barriers."

"What else? U.S. ties with dictators."

"Result? Angry neighbors."

Thus, two distinct lines appear in U.S. News & World Report: 1. Accurate reports of interviews and public statements, plus first-hand reports by the magazine's own correspondents, many of them unbiased-reporting;

2. A selection process of the reprints and interviews which heavily weights them in quantity, number, and presentation on the side of Lawrence's personal convictions, and an embellishment of the reprinted reports which carry out the Editor's themes in headlines, introductions and other presentations even when these embellishments are contrary to the reports themselves.

Many years ago, Delbert Clark said

"In some ways Lawrence is the most skillful of all the Washington columnists: he has the ability to appear sweetly reasonable while making the most highly prejudiced statements of opinion..."

Clark was talking of Lawrence's personal column, but a study of U.S. News & World Report leads one to much the same conclusion. It also causes doubt as to the validity of the claim:

"The news pages are written by other staff members independently of these editorial views."

U.S. News and Its Wound

In the June 13, 1952, issue of U.S. News and World Report, the editorial "The Court and the Country of America" introduced a long story that took two-thirds of a page.

A full-page inspirational photograph of the United States Supreme Court building in Washington showed the

EQUAL JUSTICE UNDER LAW

The display celebrated the centennial of the President Truman's seizure of the steel industry during a labor dispute was unconstitutional. In undisguised celebration of the court, the display said that no dictatorship is possible in the United States because the court is a "strong and free ship" and in order for tyrants to reign.

"... the Supreme Court must be challenged ... or destroyed."

In small print at the bottom it said "Copyright, 1952, U.S. News Pub. Corp."

A study of the magazine in 1958 makes the 1952 display hard to believe. In issue after issue the Supreme Court and its justices are the subject of articles are published—many of which are published by "left-wing" law clerks, the Editor refers to its pronouncements as "illegal" and

the results as "law" this quotation from the COURT is "THE COURT TO THE AMERICANS" and "the Court is the heart of the nation's life."

What has led to change the Court? The eyes of U.S. News and World Report—from a dictator's "barr" in 1952 to a Communist "comfort" in 1958. And to change the Editor who in 1952 wrote a book, "The Honest Man" in fervent praise of the United States Supreme Court?

A study of the magazine leads one to the conclusion that it was the single act of the 1954 decision declaring racial segregation in public schools unconstitutional.

The impression is that this decision caused a great trauma and that the magazine picks at the wound every week.

Not one week passed in the magazine without a reference to racial integration. The references were sometimes straight news, sometimes highly pertinent opinions accurately recorded, but often a reaching out by the editors for material—accurate or not—which in its net impact carried out the feeling against the Supreme Court decision.

The usual reference in headlines and stories was not to

"Integration," but the more emotional term, "racial mixing." President Eisenhower sent troops to force the mixing of the races" (Dec. 27, 1957); "racial mixing in schools in 1958" (Jan. 3, 1958); "to force racial mixing" (Jan. 11, 1958) and so on during the year.

The high incidence of integration news is by no means poor news judgment. Many would agree that Negro-white relations are the major domestic problem in the United States in our time. Exposure of news, opinion and study fills a real need. Advocacy of one side or the other is in the tradition of free discussion. But the quiet loading of "news" presentation is not.

It is "quiet" in U.S. News & World Report because it is largely by use of the words of others and because it is by means of the weight of space and emphasis, rather than outright opposition, as is done quite appropriately in the Editors' page.

Recently on his editorial page, David Lawrence expressed his personal view of reality in the South when he wrote:

"... something the South understands and wishes the North could understand, too—that racial bitterness between whites and Negroes has never been characteristic of the South—David Lawrence, Editor."

Reaching Out for Segregation

As in political and economic news, there are large quantities of segregationist views pronounced. In the past—within the first six months of 1958—there have been four interviews with integrationist leaders, long-text-

tual excerpts from Negro sources.

In addition, the argument can be made that the most dramatic news has been made by the segregationists and the most vocal arguments made by the South.

Despite these factors, there is evidence that U.S. News & World Report reaches out for segregationist views. And in absolute measure the magazine tells the reader more of the segregationist view than of the integrationist.

U.S. News & World Report changed its opinion of Supreme Court between 1952, 1958.

In the first six months of 1968 the equivalent of 50 pages of race relations or civil rights material appeared in the Times at

More than 10 per cent of these firms treated integration seriously, other showed it to be a nuisance or as causing trouble.

Thirteen per cent was neutral in tone or impact.

The proposal was approved. The exchange of information view was the predominant one. The FBI, through the magazine, asked if you all got the copy from the page and pointed in straightforward manner the reply that it had worked well.

Race relations show improvement in the most unhappy places. On Jan. 3 the United Negro College Fund reported that "racial mixing" two weeks after the riot in New Haven had produced "a new atmosphere of understanding." Two weeks after an riot on Jan. 10, 1968, in Chicago, schools with the black inter-

1. The first step is to identify the problem or issue that needs to be addressed. This involves gathering information and understanding the context of the situation.

[illegible]

On April 1, Wednesday, from the streets of the World Moscow, Belgrade, Paris, London, and Washington, D.C., the strategy of U.S. "Task Force 100" was exposed. It was pointed out that the purpose of the operation of American troops in Vietnam is to keep the war in other parts of Washington.

D.C., while officials estimate that one-fourth of Washington's Negro children are illegitimate." A couple of weeks later a sympathetic newspaper, the election of House Minority Leader Strom Thurmond . . . Lion of the Transvaal," in South Africa where there is "strictly enforced racial segregation," and a few weeks later another item on Union of South Africa "Where Racial Barriers Keep Going Higher." South Africa is now turning to more and more segregation as the answer to its racial problems," quoting only pro-Stroftism sources.

While a reasonable reader would not dispute any item on integration, the tone and direction of the pattern of coverage is almost obsessively anti-integrationist. Friends of David Lawrence say this is out of character with him, though he is a longtime resident of Washington and Virginia. He has printed material about 'group prejudice.' Yet, the

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A five-page layout, "Political Leaders and Editors Size

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percent was the ... of the
President's television address
to the nation.

While segregationists did
make news that week, so did
those supporting the Supreme
Court and integration. The
magazine did not mention the
fact of the federal judge's in-
junction against violence in
Little Rock or the federal
court's prohibition before he
ordered in to desegregate the
school. The federal Army
did order to the high school
students; nor the words of J.
F. Kennedy, the President and Gov-
ernor Faubus was lying; nor
the text of a statement by the
Rev. Billy Graham, a South-
erner condemning the vio-
lence and favoring integra-
tion, even though U.S. News
& World Report had devoted
a cover story to Billy Graham
last week before.

Thus if one characterized
the treatment by U.S. News
& World Report of integra-
tion—and of other issues with
which the editor strongly dis-
agrees—one could say that it
records dutifully the official
news and some of the opposi-
tion. And if person with
enthusiasm, imagination and
overwhelming space the ideas
dearest to his heart.

No. 1

U.S. News & Crystal Ball

"Don't never prophesy—on-
ly say ye know."

This is a grandmaster's ad-
vice. It was President Fowell
and a commandment in or-
der of news reporting.

Forecasting is a weakness
of which journalistic flesh
and blood should be aware. An
apostle as David Lawrence in
his U.S. News & World Re-
port is guilty of this minor
transgression.

The magazine, more than
any other, is devoted to heavy
portions of full texts, ver-
bal, not only in and serious
news of the world and there in
the portions of its growing
market. It is at the wine
of prophecy.

This is, perhaps, a natural
weakness for a magazine
that started as a forecast
report. The financial news-
papers that prospered in
Washington and New York
magazine that business men
have a special appetite for
forecasts printed in regular
typewriter type, giving the
impression that the editor
has just received a tip so hot
he sat right down, typed it
out and ran it to the mail-
box.

Thus a number of pages
in U.S. News & World Re-
port are filled with news
with imitation typewriter
type and filled with a gal-
lop-pourri of news flashes, gen-
eral background conditions,

and forecasts. They are called
such names as "Tomorrow,
Newsgram," and "Washing-
ton Whispers," and "Trend
of Business." U.S. News &
World Report is said to have
been the first to introduce
the colored-paper, imitation-
typewriting to regular maga-
zines.

Has it been a noteworthy
contribution to public infor-
mation?

The magazine's general
business forecasts have a good
reputation among business-
men, and in 1957 it had the
satisfaction of having pre-
dicted quite accurately the
current recession. (Although,
like many a prophet, it began
to get nervous when the time

On March 21, 1953 U.S. News & World Report made this forecast concerning taxes.

In the face of the latest recession:

A shift for the better can be expected by Government.

But the Government was not expected to reduce its expenditures. Cautions, built in to the forecast of a recession, worked as planned.

Three-and-a-half months later U.S. N & W R has this to say about taxes.

...and began to neiger Jan 3, 1954. "There was a growing opinion that the drop in the price of oil was going to lead off early in the new year."

But when it moves out of the business arena into the political arena it will become a cloud. Early in 1957 it devoted its cover article to "What's Coming in Ike's Second Term."

Among other things, it assured its reader "... American influence and power will be felt throughout the non-Communist world. Communism in this period is more likely to decline rather than grow in its area and influence. It is quite possible that at the end of a second Eisenhower administration, the United States will be without a real rival in all the world in terms of military and political and industrial power. In the near future American power and influence is to push into the Middle East. ... from U.S. taxpayers and a warning that the United States will not be content to be a busy sta-

bility to countries of that area and to stop the Soviet Union from overt moves. A ... the ... second term. ... Employment is not expected to become a major problem at any point in the four years ahead. Jobs will be ...

The second term is not yet over, so it seems safe to suspend judgment on the above forecast and merely wait the proper time. But we may be forgiven for questioning the forecast's validity. In May of this year it said: "World from the Capital of the World. ... Violence is expected to be down in the case of U.S. power and the next week added: 'In fact, it is against any call for U.S. to send in troops to help Lebanon's pro-Western Government. One week after that the prophet looked up and said: 'That expect peace to break out in Lebanon right away.'"

Not many weeks after the magazine had said flatly: "Washington Whispers: Marshall Tito of Yugoslavia

is going to retire next May as President of the nation and as Communist Party secretary."

On Dec. 27, 1957 "Washington Whispers" said: "Christian Herter, under secretary of state, is reported by his friends to be unhappy over the fact that he does not play a larger role in policy making..." One week later, Washington whispered back: "Christian Herter, under secretary of state, has no intention of giving up the State Department post he holds, despite reports to the contrary indicating dissatisfaction with his job."

For the benefit of any misinformed readers, U.S. News & World Report said May 30: "It turns out that the Central Intelligence Agency knew about the Communist plans in South America to embarrass Vice President Nixon..." The misinformed reader could conceivably have got the idea from U.S. News & World Report the week before when it said: "Washington Whispers..." This country's Central Intelligence Agency, counted upon to know in advance what is to happen in foreign

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the "The World" What You
as a newspaper can and
can not do. A recent 15
cent court and administrative
decisions. On May 23, for ex-
ample readers learned: "You
cannot, as a newspaper, of
course, avoid paying the rean-
tification" except that on
May 23, 1957, on a ship"
In a section called "Trend of
the world" the report, that a Texas
payroll said it is all right
to feed infants cold milk, a
wife can be based on her af-
firmity, and "There are 55
kinds of cockroaches in the
U.S."

These are major inventions
on an otherwise formulaic

structure of the magazine,
like the primocies.

The forecast's inherent an-
other lesson, perhaps not
quite learned as yet.

On March 21 of this year,
the lead prediction in "To-
morrow" read:

"A tax cut now appears to
be as certain as anything can
be in this world."

On June 27, "Tomorrow,"
shifting to the past tense,
reported:

"A cut in taxes was not
required to reverse a down-
trend."

They teach that perhaps
death and taxes, but, alas,
little else, including a tax cut,
is certain in this world.

No. 5

Newsweek... Reads the Papers

On Page 21 of the April 21,
1958 Newsweek magazine,
the Editor-in-Chief in a mes-
sage to readers said:

"Somewhere, at every mo-
ment of every day, the men
and women of NEWSWEEK
are at work on missions of
many kinds. . . in a hut in
the jungle of Cuba, . . .
reading a literary salon in
Europe, at the White House
in Washington, or a machine
shop in Ypsanti."

They are indeed, News-
week correspondents who
travel to sources of news all
over the world, but the Edi-
tor-in-Chief may have slight-
ed a key man, the pitiful
clerk who each workday
takes the elevator to his of-
fice in the Newsweek Build-
ing at 142 West 42nd Street
in New York and fearlessly
reads The New York Times.

The correspondents in
Cuba, Paris, and Ypsanti
produce some first-rate arti-
cles in Newsweek but the
editor reading The New York
Times produces more than all
the others combined.

The use of so sturdy a
source of news as The New
York Times is admirable, but
Newsweek, as does its uptown
senior rival, Time, tends to

present this same information
not so much as fallible words
from identifiable human
sources as The Reported
Truth recorded in May 1957.

Both Time and Newsweek
have human beings covering
news, many of them compe-
tent. Time has 53 fulltime
correspondents listed in 15
American cities outside New
York, and 32 in 13 foreign
cities. Newsweek has 29 in six
American cities outside New
York, and 11 in seven for-
eign cities, both maintain an
additional "stringers," local re-
porters, usually newspaper-
men, who are available to
cover specific items on a fee
basis. And both maintain
large staffs in their New York
headquarters to compile, write
and edit the stories.

Yet, David Cort, who
worked on Time magazine
from 1932 to 1946, says that
75 per cent of the material
in Time came directly from
The New York Times and the
New York Herald-Tribune.
Staff members at Newsweek
say the percentage there is at
least as high as at Time.

Newsweek is the middle
magazine of the Big Three, at
least for the moment. Its net
paid weekly circulation in

1957 was 1,119,000. But it was
being approached rapidly by
U.S. News & World Report,
which has tripled its circula-
tion in eight years and this
year is reported to be over
1,000,000. Time has twice that
circulation.

Newsweek has struck many
of its readers as being the
cheap magazine in another
way. To some it has appeared
to be an imitation of both its
rivals.

There are signs in recent
years that it has copied fea-
tures of its competitor, U.S.
News & World Report: ver-
batim interviews, graphic dis-
play of economic and social
data, and possibly a more
conservative political slant.

At the same time, News-
week has had the reputation
in the trade of being a kind
of downtown edition of Time
magazine. It has used the
same basic cover color, red.
Its format is almost the same.
The departments into which
the magazine is divided have
only minor variations from
Time. And its picture cap-
tions and the style of its text
writing have followed the
creations of Time, usually
without much skill.

Some of the similarities

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An Imitation, With Tired Words

Newsweek has appeared to imitate these styles. But when Time's seductive, precise words, Newsweek tended to use flat and tired ones. Where Time confidently issued the news like Moses Revealing the Divine Word

Newsweek's style often seems to be a mixture of the old and the new, as if it were a message sent out in the olden of Main Street.

This is the significance of the traditional, old-fashioned sources for news. In Newsweek, for example, the facts can come from The New York Times, the New York Herald Tribune, the Associated Press, United Press International and Reuters, but after the reader sees it as absolute truth soaked up with a few dead, tired adjectives. On June 1, Newsweek wrote:

On Memorial Day at Indianapolis, hundreds of mechanics tuned up the powerful low-hung cars and 33 ...

On the routine news and ...
...the nation of ...
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paper copy, freshman themes and other tired creations on the New York Times.

"Eather's company is International Swimming Pool Corp. which, like all others, is splashing its way to new records. This year ... a ... more ...

On the August 11 ...
...the nation of ...
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It is not unusual for the editors of Newsweek to use 10 per cent of the page in an advertisement ...
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ber 1 the magazine used the first 30 per cent of its lead page on the story that the reader that Newsweek had said this was going to happen.

On the other hand, Newsweek's approach to the news often is more conventional and thus more readily judged by the reader than is Time's. The magazine often publishes first-rate special articles on large themes. And it is among its rivals in its clearly printing reports under the signatures of real, identifiable human beings.

U.S. News & World Report, except for some of its foreign reports, usually ascribes even eye-witness stories to its "Board of Editors." Time is a collective effort, and unlike even the Bible, offers the reader no clue as to who wrote stories that express highly individual value judgments.

Newsweek and Time both have back-of-the-book departments reporting and commenting on special fields in American arts, sciences and entertainment that provide material usually overlooked in the daily press. (While there is evidence that News-

rumor floating a noteworthy subplot on American news media that probably would have gone unnoted in the daily press.)

CONFIDENTIAL

The Demand of Omniscience

A recent issue of Newsweek.

Newsweek, the magazine of the week, is a weekly publication of the Newsweek Publishing Co., Inc., 1100 Avenue of the Americas, New York 17, N. Y. It is a weekly publication of the Newsweek Publishing Co., Inc., 1100 Avenue of the Americas, New York 17, N. Y.

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Like most magazines, Newsweek puts an advanced date on the magazine for understandable commercial rea-

sons. It is easier to accept the date on the magazine than to accept the date on the magazine. It is easier to accept the date on the magazine than to accept the date on the magazine.

All the Newsweek news-magazines, however, are published on the date they send news. Newsweek and the date on the magazine, and all of them, are published on the date they send news. Newsweek and the date on the magazine, and all of them, are published on the date they send news.

Many of the correspondents who provide material for this mystical insight are correspondents who provide material for this mystical insight. They are correspondents who provide material for this mystical insight.

But in their daily operations the editors of the mag-

azines are the direct rules of conventional news reporting whereby the reader is supposed to be told where the news comes from. This is a discipline on reporters, preventing mere rumors, planted items and reporters' wishes and opinions from being presented as facts. And it provides the reader with some basis for judging the seriousness, significance and reliability of the news.

All news organizations from time to time use material with only a vague source specified: "a high official" or "diplomatic sources." These are sometimes first-hand official statements of importance given on condition that the correspondent not give the source, for diplomatic reasons. Or else in the judgment of the correspondent a story is basically sound and important to print, even though no individual will let his name back it up (in which case the reputation of the correspondent gives the reader a guide). But these are special cases in most news organizations, and the whole weight of professional practice is to tell the reader both the news and where it came from.

Just the News, or Wishes, Too?

Unhampered by such rules, the news magazine editor can write news that is more readable, and perhaps so. Few persons, for example, would argue with the scrupulousness and usefulness of The New York Times. The news of the week, but the lack of restraint in the news magazines often permits the news to be more titillating and more anticlimactic than the facts warrant, giving the reader little hint as to when

the news stops and the editorial titillating begins, or when the facts end and editorial dogma takes over.

In the June 23, 1954, Newsweek, for example, one reads: "... the extreme rightists not only are largely uncontrolled in Algeria but are rapidly gaining strength in France itself."

The same week in Time one reads of the same rightists:

"Abandoned by their idols

and outflanked by the Army—which has quietly taken over almost all key posts in the Algerian civil administration—the diharas had little choice but to make what amounted to a humiliating confession of defeat."

In Newsweek: "rapidly gaining strength."

In Time: "a humiliating confession of defeat."

When Secretary of State Dulles appeared before a hostile Senate committee, News-

... the same week:
"Dwight D. Eisenhower's first political appearance in 1952."

Time commented:
"Dwight D. Eisenhower's first political appearance in 1952."

Time commented:
"Dwight D. Eisenhower's first political appearance in 1952."

U.S. News & World Report said of Dwight Eisenhower's first political appearance in 1952:

"Voice . . . Harsher than expected. Not much warmth."

Time the same week said:
"They liked him for his voice, vigorous manner of speech."

Two weeks later U.S. News & World Report said:

"Dwight D. Eisenhower . . . found himself down in the bewildering wonderland of big-league politics . . . so far as neutral observers could tell, the Eisenhower side seemed to be doing as many skirmishes as it was winning."

Time at about the same period on Eisenhower:

"They like him because he is a good campaigner . . . for his quiet control . . ."

In the June 13, 1953 U.S. News & World Report:

"Why are six Soviet fishing boats stationed constantly off the East Coast of Canada? . . . That riddle has puzzled U.S. and Canadian officials for some months."

In Newsweek, dated three days later:

"Pentagon Pipeline: Navy Headquarters - Top officials here insist there is no indication that these Soviet trawlers off Newfoundland are on any secret mission. . . . As for recent press reports that the boats are up to no good, a well-informed official says: 'Things must have been quiet over the holidays.'"

Two weeks later U.S. News & World Report had

... the same week:
"Dwight D. Eisenhower's first political appearance in 1952."

Time commented:
"Dwight D. Eisenhower's first political appearance in 1952."

TIME REELS SHOOKING CLOUT TO HOME- WHY?
While the Navy still publicly insisted that the Soviet fishing fleet off the New Brunswick coast was only interested in fish, intelligence reports were coming in that more could be said. It seems that (they) . . . are serving as floating headquarters for Russian spies which are jamming U.S. radar in Iceland, . . . mental electronic installations in the Russian area . . ."

On June 23 Newsweek displayed its June 16 item proudly as a sign of its authority, although its June 23 story was the reverse of the one on June 16.

Where does this leave the reader? First, U.S. News & World Report says "U.S. and Canadian officials" are "puzzled."

Time says "top officials" and "a well-informed officer" are not puzzled at all that the boats are just fishing. Then U.S. News & World Report, which had previously reported "U.S. and Canadian officials" puzzled reported that "Western intelligence officials" are not puzzled but know the boats are mapping the ocean floor off the U.S. and Canadian coasts. If U.S. and Canadian officials were still puzzled, the "Western intelligence officials" must be Western European or Latin American, a grave commentary on North American intelligence! But Newsweek, which failed at the time to tell the reader its "top officials" and "well-informed officer" were not being "fooled," finally told the reader that "intelligence reports" have the boats jamming radar.

Using the same vague references, Newsweek in May announced that the Soviet fishing fleet was not a danger and reported openly to a reporter, "giving intimates of the President."

"Far from getting him down, they said, the confidence Eisenhower showed was an indication that Mr. Eisenhower felt genuinely confident about the Administration's ability to handle problems facing the nation. . . ."

A normally skeptical reader might ask in re documentation for the claim that a man loses his temper because he feels so good. And a reader of the news magazine might be excused if occasionally he becomes skeptical when the glib, authoritative, rootless conclusions change from week to week, and from magazine to magazine.

The important point is not that interpretations and conclusions differ. Honest reasonable men often differ in their view of the same scene. In the handling of news this ordinarily acts as a discipline: there is an obligation to let the reader know what is documented fact, what is rumor, what is wishful thinking, and what is personal opinion. In the past, the news magazine, like Newsweek and Time, little distinction is made. The operating rule is that the world must be presented as clear, black-and-white, and interpreted with positive authority.

Above all, it must also be highly readable. As the publisher of Newsweek reported of a survey in his weekly column on Nov. 7, 1957:

" . . . Articles in Newsweek are more readable than those in other news and business magazines. . . . In another phase of the testing, it was found that the Newsweek test article was more thoroughly comprehended than articles from the other magazines. . . ."

"That is," the Publisher added, apparently uncertain that he had been thoroughly comprehended, "the reader retained more of what he read in Newsweek."

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Since prophecy seems to be a conclusion that newsmen ...

The Inside Story, The White House, - The inner circle here is predicting that ex-Sen. Henry Cabot Lodge Jr. now U.S. Ambassador to ...

Four years later this "inside story" had failed to reach the outside world. Ultimately, Sherman Adams did resign, some 1500 days later, but was not replaced by Mr. Lodge.

...the "well-integrated editorial group" ...

The editorial group could ...

...of the Air Force Academy ...

The same Periscope column said:

"Behind the Curtain Oslo ...

The item neglected to specify behind which curtain the strategically placed confidential correspondent found Oslo, Norway.

Of all the Periscope forecasts and made ...

...were printed elsewhere first.

Eighteen per cent were correct. (This included items like one saying President Eisenhower ...

Twenty-nine per cent proved wrong.

In addition to what I mention, the Newsweek Periscope rises from the ...

The issue also "Periscoped" ...

In Periscoping movies, of

four items, one was totally wrong, one ...

These are the results from one issue, selected at the urging of the publisher. If one takes a broader sample—the first three months of 1957—the percentage of success and usefulness is not much different.

Of the main Periscope section during this period, 17 per cent was accurate and apparently printed first in Newsweek.

Some 46 per cent consisted of items so obvious or so vague or so beyond confirmation that they were useless to the reader. An example is the March 18 item: "You can look for the coming investigation of the AFL-CIO Bakery Union to be even more ... than the Teamsters hearings." It is perfectly accurate that the reader could look for this, if he chose. If he did look he might have trouble deciding ...

Ten per cent of the items had been printed elsewhere first, one of them two months earlier.

Twenty-seven per cent were wrong.

Some wrong items: "Democratic Chairman Paul Butler has finally and definitely tipped intimates he plans to resign in May." Eighteen months later this final and definite tip had failed to materialize.

Another was the prediction that David Beck, the teamster official, would stay in Europe, a forecast printed in the Newsweek dated the day

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Eighteen months later with Edwin Lloyd, son British Consul in Saigon, New York mailed out a promotional letter outlining, among other things,

"ACCURATE FORECASTS WILL BE FIRST to let you know ahead with uncanny Periscope predictions."

Time: They Depend on Its Accuracy

Time magazine is a well-known and respected publication. It is a weekly magazine that has been published since 1939. It is known for its in-depth reporting and analysis of current events.

The magazine's view that the economy is in a slump is a common theme. It is a view that is shared by many people. The magazine's reporting is often cited as evidence for this view.

Yet, the magazine is not always accurate. It is a magazine that is run by a small group of people. It is a magazine that is not always up-to-date. It is a magazine that is not always fair.

The magazine's reporting is often biased. It is a magazine that is not always objective. It is a magazine that is not always fair.

The dominant rule in American journalism is objectivity. The reporting of facts with a minimum of the reporter's own opinions is the goal. As Time magazine said in its Press and Public Affairs section, "The Fetish of Objectivity."

One of the most treacherous journalistic clichés is

to say that the facts speak for themselves. The faithful newsman is supposed to let the facts speak for themselves. But they never do. They are always distorted by the reporter's own biases and prejudices. And this is the fault of the reporter, not the facts.

Time magazine is not the exception. It is a magazine that is run by a small group of people. It is a magazine that is not always up-to-date. It is a magazine that is not always fair. Its reporting is often biased. It is a magazine that is not always objective. It is a magazine that is not always fair.

There is abundant evidence that the Federal Reserve and the Federal Reserve Bank of New York are not doing their job. The Federal Reserve is not doing its job. The Federal Reserve Bank of New York is not doing its job. The Federal Reserve is not doing its job. The Federal Reserve Bank of New York is not doing its job.

In these departments

Time's inherent talent seems to be the ability to report the facts as they are. As a policy.

In American journalism and foreign news, Time's reporting appears to be governed by an iron rule: when the facts fit the mold of Time's wishes, the reporting can be superb; when they do not fit the mold, Time's reporting can be as distorted as the most vicious propaganda about Russia.

It was proved, then, in the case of the "Slump" that the conclusion-first-of-the-first problem appears in the back of the mind of the reporter. Here, in a piece entitled "The Slump?", Time concluded that in general American newspapers were suppressing the news of the slump. It said: "Newspapers from Seattle to Savannah were doing their unlevel best to bull their way through one of the nation's darkest and most botched financial crises: the recession."

Was this true?

It is certainly possible.

What evidence did Time present?

It did not report that for months Businessmen, economists and politicians had been complaining that the depression was at its nadir. The slump and the depression were it. Time itself has called such reports "glum news."

(Time's reporting of the slump also found some things, as on Nov. 11, 1937. "Fundamentally, the U.S. was still more productive and prosperous than any nation in history. The economy was

and would continue to be a husky and growing thing." Time, Dec. 2, 1937. "The uneasy feeling of the nation's economic picture is not the statistical slump but the mood. . . . Despite the recent drops, the U.S. economy still

has a long way to go before it approaches the slump of 1933-34 — which economists now refer to as the 'gold-plated' recession." Time, Dec. 9, 1937. "THE MONTH SQUEEZE, It Is More Apparent Than Real." Time, Dec. 30, 1937: "Anticipation of recession was scarier than the realization. . . .")

To support its conclusion that daily newspapers were suppressing news of the recession Time offered the reader 14 specific items of evidence.

No. 1 was its lead sentence: "DECLINE HERE? DON'T BELIEVE IT" headlined the Fort Worth Star-Telegram on Page One last week." This was a correct quotation of the headline and it was a story on the rosy side, listing aircraft and defense contracts in effect locally. Time did not report that the same newspaper was regularly running even bigger headlines on Page One. Like the eight-column, 72-point banner:

TEXAS ON ALLOWABLE SLASHED TO ALL-TIME LOW and the five-column, 72-point 5,200,000 J. BLESS. While Time praised a few papers for running financial columnist Sylvia Porter, who it said, reported the slump realistically, it did not say the Fort Worth Star-Telegram carries Sylvia Porter.

Item No. 2 "Though more than 50,000 workers are out of jobs in Georgia's four largest cities, the Atlanta Journal has zealously kept the state's slump off the front page, and until last week, even banned the word recession from its pages." This appears to be inaccurate. The Atlanta Journal earlier sent its own reporters through the state and then ran on Page One their stories telling of a serious depression in agriculture, Georgia's major activity. The term, "cur-

Item No. 1. In Los Angeles, where Time's report of a "great leading" was IS GETTING SLUMP IF PLANNED.

Thus, of the 14 "facts" Time presented to the reader to support its conclusion, one was correct, two were apparently wrong (based on what men later say they said, granting they could conceivably have said something else in private earlier); six were so unrepresentative as to give an essentially false impression; and five were demonstrably false.

Item No. 4. "Scrapps-Howards Memphis Press-Scimitar" story on expansion plans for 1934. The story, which mentions that 2600 of its employees have been "laid off." This appears to be entirely inaccurate. The paper, in fact, "laid off" or "laid down" only 100 employees in that week. A statement by a company official said that expansion ran six months earlier. The Firestone story, which said that it was "laid off" an official said that in one month during that period there is many as 1000 laid off in that figure.

Item No. 5. "In Atlanta, Georgia, Time's report of a layoff of 2,000 Lockheed Aircraft workers but had until it could report

that the layoff had taken place. The layoff was reported the day after the Atlanta Constitution morning edition of the Constitution Journal. The story on Page One of the morning of May 15, 1934, was that it was a three-column headline on an inside page that after noon the story was that the layoff had been made for workers from four months later when the company announced it.

A check of the 14 items of evidence of suppression shows almost the same pattern throughout. In one case it reported the opposite of what an editor, noted for his integrity, says he told the Time reporter. In a display of headlines clipped from newspapers, which Time presented as "HOPEFUL HEADLINES" "We don't want to give advertisers," it used headlines that were, in fact, and speeches and public statements, in one case the headline quoted was sarcastic, stressing the fact that times are bad. In others it showed small, inside-page headlines while ignoring Page One headline headlines, in the same paper, saying "SLUMP

In another case, a part of a headline was used and did not represent the main portion, which gave the impression of a slump. It suppressed a Page Two headline which reported of a national speech, but cut this out it must have been necessary to pass the "slump" a quarter of an inch from an-

other "slump" which was a report of a "great leading" IS GETTING SLUMP IF PLANNED.

It is possible American daily newspapers did play down the recession, but it has not been proved by Time in any evidence it gave the reader.

One month after Time's story, its competitor, Newsweek, reported: "HOW U.S. NEWSPAPERS ARE COVERING THE RECESSION . . . Wire-service logs showed that, in quantity of copy and the play it was getting, the recession was easily the biggest story of the spring season . . . Syndicated writers shuttled in and out of hard-hit industrial centers . . . Most newsmen agreed it was their duty to report one story as they found it, whether the

This, too, could be unrepresentative, since the magazine drew its own conclusions from its own collection of facts.

It does not seem to have been to the Time statement:

" . . . the facts . . . speak clearly only when they are told in proper order and perspective—and thus interpreted by an honest journalist."

No. 10

Time, Tone and Tainted Words

While Time has been accused of being inaccurate in its reporting, it is not the key to its reputation.

It is not what Time says it says it. It is not the kind of news reported by the New York Times, the New York Herald Trib-

une, the Associated Press, United Press International, and its own staff in the field.

The key is how it is written in the pages of the editorial offices in the Rockefeller Center, New York.

Noel Bush, cousin of the late Briton Hadden, the man

who co-founded Time magazine in 1923 with Henry R. Luce, says of his experience on the magazine that Time regards as ideal that:

"Writers should not witness the events they write about."

It is the writer away from

... story the impact it will have on the reader when it comes to domestic issues and foreign policy. ... related to the ... of international ... and is not know precisely how he got it.

If one isolates the facts from the top world affairs by Time's editors, the pattern appears. It is typical of the ... reporting that the political world is ... into the ... and the forces ... a political figure.

... easily lady across the street just to amuse the neighbors. If he is a political angel—floating in Time's heaven his hand at the aged elbow is evidence of an innate kindness.

In 1951 the secretary of state, Dean Acheson, was a time devil, an outstanding expert of the Truman-Acheson Gang. While Time was not alone in characterizing Acheson as a menace, it was

... and effective organ in desecrating public confidence in ... It did this not so much with rational argument ... as with the force words used in Rockefeller

Center such words from its cover story on Acheson on Jan. 3, 1953.

This week ... he expanded his gloomy note ... Dean Acheson's reputation ranged from the proposition that he was a fellow traveler or a well-oiled ... of backslavery or an abysmally ... or an ... who was taking the U.S. into a world war, to the warm if not so audible defense that he was a great secretary of state, a brilliant executor of the best of all possible foreign programs ... tall, clean and unmarred ... either made to work in a department ... or walked with little Justice Felix Frankfurter ... office in ... Foggy Bottom he tried not to listen to the criticism ... with his blue, slightly protuberant eyes studied his foreign policy. It was not a very encouraging study ... to what extent was Acheson to blame ... Acheson's involvement ... Acheson therefore inherited some of the powers and problems which he had helped create ... was well on the way to becoming an immeasurable

... decisions ... disastrous passes that have boomeranged to plague him ... The one reason ... was to provide Acheson's State Department with an alibi for its share in

China's trade disaster State Department, by its acts and by its failures to act ... had bribed ... thrown China's door open to Russia ... Acheson's State Department continued hopefully to stroke the fur of the Red leader ... must not be survivor among the architects of the 'China mistake' is Secretary Acheson ... The case against Dean Acheson ... policy has disastrously failed in Asia. The misreading of the Red Chinese ... he must take full responsibility ... the old animus against Chiang Kai-shek ... On the record, U.S. policy in Europe is in a crucial state of hesitation ... Acheson and the Administration ... could not get around the fact of 'Western Europe' ... had no reservation ... Acheson had been invariably punctilious and polite ... in the end ... he had too frequently let himself be pulled down to the level of his hawking, tiptoeing fellow conferees ... The question was whether a different secretary of state might have done more ... He possesses some of the intellectual arrogance ... a highly civilized man, an intellectual snob ... No blood, no sweat, no tears ever ... of Acheson's sentences, or the mannerisms of his theories ... the U.S. people ... cannot quite tune in on him ... Has Dean Acheson become ... a national danger?

Under An Avalanche—The Facts

In the Jan. 3, 1953 issue Time did a cover story on Secretary of State John Foster Dulles. Like Acheson, Dulles had become a matter of bitter dispute in the United States. The tone words and phrases from that story: "John Foster Dulles ... pressed Molotov with greater skill and force than ... one sharp stroke after another ... Dulles rescued other millions from gullibility ... trips to re-

inforce the free world outposts ... develop cohesion and strength ... Dulles played the key role ... Dulles' patient year of work and travel ... Dulles both drew upon and nourished U.S. confidence ... this emphasis on U.S. interests had a wholesome effect of stimulating the national pride of other Western nations ... he played the year's most effective rule ... he was nimble in disentangling himself from his errors ... after long and careful negotiation ... Dulles

... played goalkeeper in the free world's two major setbacks ... Dulles has said quite pointedly ... A smaller man than Dulles might have insisted ... had a brilliant career ... applied Christian principles to historic realities ... soundest bit of diplomacy ... He has explained ... he has demonstrated ... Dulles' restraint was deliberate ... his mighty practical analysis ... Dulles analyzed ... was all the more forceful because Dulles' line had already been proved right.

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There are other words the subject of Time learns. The modern Hophthian President of the United States when irritated, says, "Look on answer." "Snarl" means that the question has been in bad taste put up, and the President is showing manly spirit. "Sputter" means to "sputter" or "sputters" or "sputts."

Stylistically, the result is a most dramatic, crisp and effective lecture in the news profession. But poetically it is a vapor of bias that seeps into the text, clouds facts and bypasses the normal critical judgment of the reader. It is a highly artistic technique, but a study of Time's behavior in recent political campaigns shows that it is used as a partisan political weapon.

The film appeared in the balance of space, in the selection of facts, and in the use of pictures and illustration.

But if these elections fall into a dead political pattern, the reader has a right to know it.

"A great American soldier
discovered a new courage as
a policy for a nation. Out of
his own life experience with
the fateful issues of the 20th
century, Dwight D. Eisenhower
phrased a definition of
the peril besetting the U.S.

In the same issue, under "DEMOCRACY, Away From It All," a story about Adlai Stevenson—leaving out the news core—began:

On Oct 10, 1958, Time reported the appearance of both Stevenson and Eisenhower at a farmer's gathering.

"From the same giant platform . . . Adlai Stevenson made a major bid for the farm vote at Newton . . . Stevenson promised the farmers everything but the moon on behalf of the Democrats . . . From the past, Stevenson dragged out a familiar Democratic tactic . . . contended Adlai, in an astonishing de-

This relatively subtle technique does not mean that Time neglected the blunt instrument of loaded pictures. In the 13 issues covering the 1962 campaign, Time placed 21 photographs of Eisenhower, all of them showing him in a favorable light—heroic, or friendly, or earnest. Stevensons' face in those issues appeared only 13 times, the two largest facial shots from photographs taken 30 years before, and 49 per cent of the total showed Stevenson in unflattering poses eating, drinking, or grunting.

Time carefully preserved the image of Eisenhower in the 1952 campaign, although in the Democratic past it had shown marked irreverence for political sacred cows. In 1956 it dealt heavily in cartoons. In the 13 pre-

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Time, Fog and Golliwogs

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Friends Have Souls, Enemies Messy Details

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...Property, and Progress...
...ain't it wonderful'...
...Candidate Stevenson obviously felt
...he had a point...
...Time then
...went on to explain on its own
...in a report on Democratic
...campaign activities — 'The
...U.S. has learned to live with
...its crises with equanimity...
...if there seems to be little in-
...year back, it is odd...
...because
...the search is constant and
...the U.S. is always new."

Time regularly in the cam-
...paign draped from Republi-
...can statements into heroic
...prose affirming these state-
...ments. And it regularly de-
...voted part of the space under
...its heading 'DEMOCRATS'
...to Republican (or its own)
...attacks on Democrats.

In a cover story on Vice-
...Presidential candidate Kefauver it started with a refer-
...ence to Kefauver pitching
...manure and thereafter put

the word 'shovel' as a
...pitch' in the first den...
...ing his speeches. Aside from
...this, directly derogatory ma-
...terial constituted 53 per cent
...of the story with Time
...diag editorial agreement. The
...campaign strategy...
...was an almost unbroken one
...of...
...approval, leaving past
...criticisms to ever higher
...power...
...while there is a pos-
...sibility to his first wife, Nixon is
...a man of consistent principle,
...whose values are as sound and
...fundamental as any in U.S.
...politics today...
...Had Nixon been the weak, unprincipled
...character that his more
...cholesterol enemies make him
...out to be, he might well have
...given up...

In an October, 1952, pro-
...file of Stevenson, 53 per cent
...was...
...derogatory
...or otherwise damaging, much
...of that 53 per cent being used
...to counter or nullify positive
...material. The Eisenhower
...cover story had only three per
...cent derogatory lines and
...with these Time took the ini-
...tiative to answer:

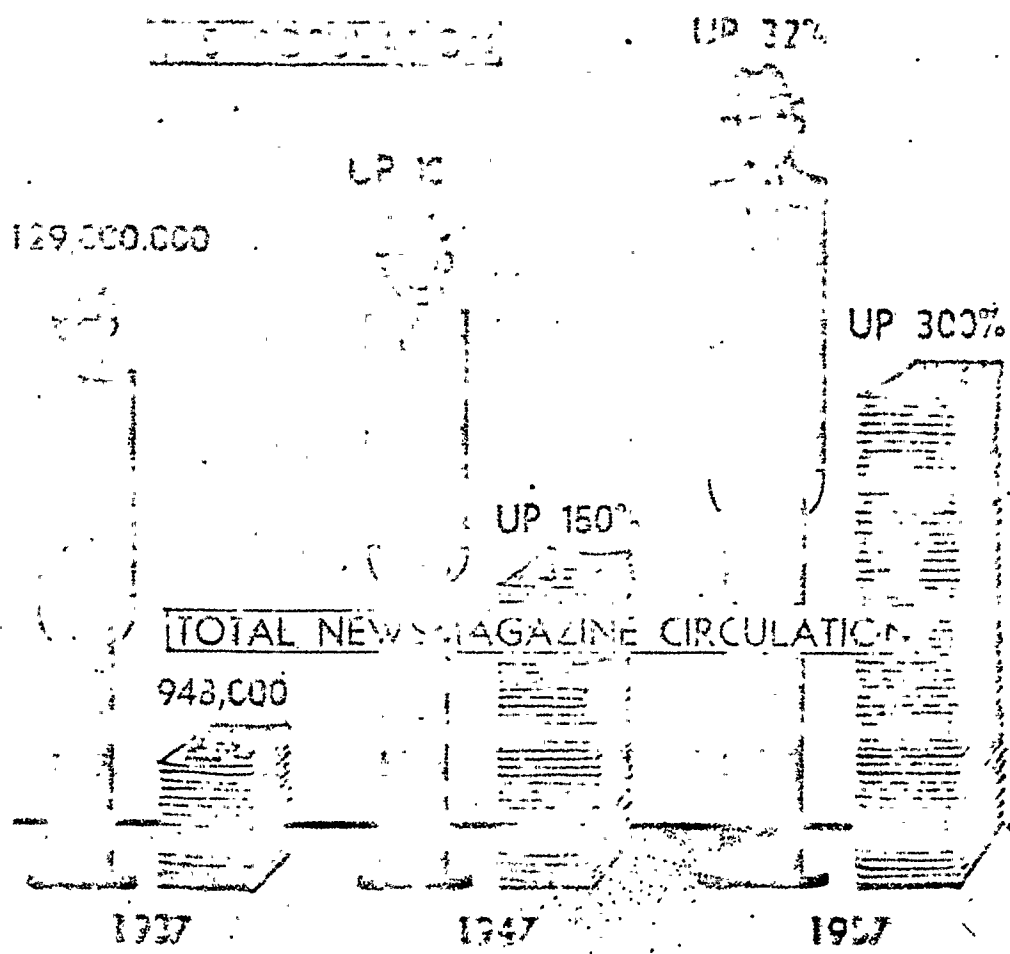
"One of the Democratic
...charges against Eisenhower
...is that he is vague on issues.
...Actually, while Ike's prose is
...vague in style, his speeches
...are highly specific in con-
...tent..."

Time's treatment of domes-
...tic politics is dramatic politi-
...cal polemics and it is certai-
...nly identifiable as free political
...opinion, but it is not reliable
...political reporting by any
...non-partisan standard.

An analysis of its behavior
...during the 1952 and 1956 po-
...litical campaigns casts serious
...doubts on its own early pro-
...spectus:

"There will be no editorial
...page in Time.

"No article will be written
...to prove any special case."



No. 12

Newsmagazines: A Service and a Threat

The newsmagazines—Time, Newsweek, and the New York World Report—substitute one of the most important and productive of American institutions for one of the most disorganizing in American mass communication.

The spectacular growth of the magazines undoubtedly reflects a greater public interest in world affairs and an increasing desire to understand the world.

The growth of the magazines has been dramatic ever since their inception in 1911. The New York World Report, for example, grew from two issues in 1940 and 1941 to 12 issues in 1957.

circulation was 67,000. Newsweek had 275,000. Last year the American population had increased 10 per cent since 1947. The combined newsmagazine circulation had gone up more than 300 per cent.

All news media became more popular during this time, including newspapers, for a number of reasons. The Great Depression and the Second World War came to the life of the average man. Since World War II, the world has been a threat of World War II. During this same period, dramatic television, radio, and income increased steadily.

news magazines were sold for every 1,000 Americans in 1937, 25 were sold in 1957. This three-fold increase in the per capita reading of news interpretation should encourage anyone anxious for a democratic people to keep informed and maintain understanding of what is happening in the world.

But at the same time, the magazines have presented national and world events as news by using special techniques ranging from dramatic oversimplification to full-fledged partisan propaganda.

Each of the three magazines has had its particular interests in the news and has tended to fit the presentation of the facts to those interests.

There is a lot of talk about the importance of the environment, but the government is not doing enough to protect it. The environment is a precious resource, and we must take steps to preserve it for future generations. The government should invest in renewable energy sources, such as wind and solar power, to reduce our dependence on fossil fuels. Additionally, we should implement stricter regulations on industries that pollute the environment. It is our responsibility as citizens to hold our government accountable for its actions. We must ensure that the environment is protected and that our children have a clean and healthy planet to live on.

primary documents in public affairs means that opposing points of view see the light of day even though overhauled and material agreeing with it is lost.

The following paragraph
 states, American residents
 in and out of the U. S. are
 standing firm in their support
 of the U. S. position.
 The U. S. position is
 fully supported by the
 Board.

The difference lies in the operating traditions of news-papers that call for strict separation of news and opinion. This tradition has been strong and effective among the last generation. It holds that news will be presented in the language of the reporter or the editor, and without a political slant. Where opinion has been expressed, it should be on the editorial page or in special columns whose authors can

Certainly, this tradition is not upheld all the time on all papers. Some biased stories are printed in all newspapers from time to time. Leading reporters and editors are human and vary in their competence and discretion. And a few newspapers consistently print biased news because their proprietors reject the tradition.

But in the whole American newspapers have produced an audience used to generally objective stories in politics and social affairs. This is augmented by the heavy use of the relatively impartial wire services — Associated Press, United Press, International and Reuters. The rule of objectivity is followed so rigidly on so many newspapers that many serious students of mass communication think the newspapers overdo it.

The problem of the American news magazine is that it is not a story or a dramatically constructed one to an audience, and that it is lacking in the editorial argument that the foreign form is competent to give. Part of the new magazines go largely to the middle classes, who probably do not have a high interest in literary analysis and political sophistication.

view and tells the reader what The Truth is, but he is not above manipulation. "The Weekly Newsmagazine," And the point of view is generally not presented in rational analysis but by the emotional coloration of personalities and events in a subtle, indirect manner to an audience traditionally unprepared for such manipulation.

It may be encouraging to some that the newsmagazine closest to the journalistic tradition of objectivity, U.S. News & World Report, has been growing the fastest in recent years. Its predecessor, United States News and 10 per cent of the Big Three circulation in 1947 but had 22 per cent in 1967. And Time, which is the most loaded of all, had 70 per cent of the circulation 20 years ago and only 51 per cent last year.

gains of a large magnitude for all the magazines. The two magazines, 4 years ago, had a circulation 20 years ago, have 4200,000 now. The numbers who read each issue are greater still. The magazines have multiple attractions for the whole family, they are printed on attractive, durable paper, and they are engagingly illustrated.

Some of the regulars of the newsmagazines have only passing importance. The compulsion to prophesy in U.S. News & World Report and in Newsweek, for example, builds up the illusion of an overly simple world to which each man or woman has the only keyhole. Time avoids formal forecasting of events, partly because its cultural inheritance includes the old Literary Digest. Time bought the Digest after the Digest had destroyed its reputation in 1936 with a wildly prophetic "scientific" prediction that Alfred Langdon would die at Franklin

...anyone 22
...two
...anyone,
...voluntarily an-
...weakness.

...magazines are
...have arisen
...generation
...which the
...250

In many respects this in-
...able to
...techniques of depth probing and
...motivation. By
...methods
...news
...genera-
...sensitive
...but almost to-
...the new
...news-magazines.

The average during the
...presented
...one
...probably was read by most
...as a source
...of news in Amer-
...Most of the subscribers had
...grown in the tradition of sep-
...ation of news and opinion in
...their daily newspaper. Few of
...them had any analytical ex-
...the literary
...of news. But
...reading these critical minutes was
...an ex-
...nature which manipulated
...emotions under the implica-
...tion that it was providing
..."news."

The retelling of the news
...at the end of the week and
...its interpretation from a par-
...point of view later de-
...legitimate and useful.

But there would appear to
...be a need for public rec-
...ognition that in the area of

national politics and in-
...terests, and in special
...special issues (such as Latin
...Asia policy and U.S. News
...& World Report on inter-
...nation) they are confronted
...not with simple news or ra-
...tional interpretation, but
...with magazines of opinion.

The major problems would
...seem to be that the cor-
...and bias of and the news-
...magazines is an on the very
...general side of American
...politics, and that they per-
...sue this bias with general and
...techniques with which the
...average reader has had no
...previous experience and
...against which he has little
...defense.

Consequently, the news-
...magazines constitute both a
...problem in normal develop-
...ment of American politics
...and in the dissemination of
...news and interpretation of
...world events.

Award Given To Newsmen

NEW YORK, April 19 (AP).—Newspapermen in Providence, R. I., and Washington, D. C., yesterday won \$500 awards each from the Sidney Hillman Foundation for their reporting on labor matters.

They are Ben Bagdikian, columnist and special writer for the Providence Journal and Bulletin, and Murrey Marder, reported for the Washington Post and Times Herald.

Mr. Bagdikian received his award for a series of articles analyzing Government security programs and spotlighting defects in them. Mr. Marder was honored for day-to-day articles on various aspects of civil liberties.

Others receiving \$500 awards were:

Reuben Levin, editor of Labor, weekly publication of railroad unions in Washington, for a number of articles on Federal regulatory agencies and civil liberties.

John Lord O'Brian, lawyer, for his book, "National Security and Individual Freedom," published by the Harvard University Press.

Dr. Robert Engler, professor of political science at Sarah Lawrence College, for a series of articles in the New Republic Magazine on oil and politics.

Presentation ceremonies were held in the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel. The Hillman Foundation was created in 1947 to keep alive the late labor leader's ideas on labor-management, civil liberties and other matters.

Wash. Post and Times Herald _____
Wash. News _____
Wash. Star ☒ _____
N. Y. Herald Tribune _____
N. Y. Mirror _____
N. Y. Daily News _____
Daily Worker _____
The Worker _____
New Leader _____

Date 4-19-56

62-94717- A
NOT RECORDED
117 MAY 13 1956

File 62-94717

20 MAY 7 - 1956

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 11/23/55

: SAC, BOSTON (94-487)

SUBJECT: BEN H. BAGDIKIAN
MISCELLANEOUS
RESEARCH (CRIME RECORDS)

ReBulet 6/6/55 and Boslets 6/8 and 6/10/55.

There is enclosed herewith photostatic copy of article
relating to above individual in connection with foreign
study grant.

Enc.

RECORDED-12

62-94717-2

30
1955

EX-125

NOV-25-1955

1d. 62-94717
64 DEC 8/61 1955

Journal-Bulletin Reporter Gets Foreign Study Grant

Ben H. Bagdikian, a Journal-Bulletin reporter since 1947, has been named by the Reid Foundation as one of six recipients of \$5,000 grants for study abroad during 1956.

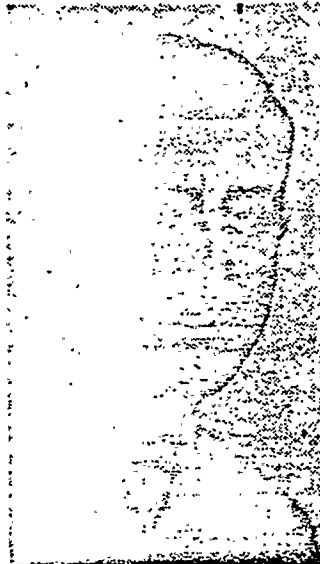
Another of the grants went to Mary Packwood, 27, of The Binghamton (N.Y.) Press, who was society editor of The Providence Journal from October, 1950, to August, 1951.

The Reid Foundation, founded by the late Ogden Reid, editor of the New York Herald Tribune, makes annual study awards to newspaper men and women of proved ability in editorial work, with at least five years experience on United States dailies.

Bagdikian, who expects to go abroad next April with his wife and two sons, will study reportorial techniques in several West European capitals. He hopes to determine the adequacy of coverage given to political and other stories by the predominantly political party press of those capitals.

Bagdikian, 35, graduated from Clark University in Worcester in 1941, worked one year for the Springfield Morning Union, and then went into the Air Force, in which he served more than three years as a navigator. After his discharge, he spent a year doing magazine and free lance work in New York.

While on the Journal-Bulletin



Ben Bagdikian

staff, Bagdikian has won a special Peabody award for his series on "Pitchmen of the Press," and a Heywood Brown award for a series on Facts Forum.

The four other Reid grants went to Ralph G. Craib, 30, of The Oakland (Calif.) Tribune; Bob Eddy, 38, of The St. Paul (Minn.) Dispatch; John W. Haigh, 37, of The Yakima (Wash.) Republic, and Eleanor R. Prech, 39, of The Cleveland (Ohio) Press.

Providence, R.I. Bulletin
11-18-55

62-94717-9
ENCLOSURE

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 6/8/55

FROM : SAC, BOSTON

SUBJECT: BEN H. BAGDIKIAN
MISCELLANEOUS
RESEARCH (CRIME RECORDS)

ReBulet 6/6/55.

The indices of the Boston Division contain no identifiable references to the above individual.

The records of the Providence Credit Bureau, 40 Fountain Street, Providence, Rhode Island, disclose a report as of March 20, 1952 identifying BAGDIKIAN as a reporter and feature writer with the Providence Journal-Bulletin newspaper. It indicated he had entered employment about 2/15/47, having come to Providence from Monroe, Louisiana. His credit record was favorable and his character and habits were recorded as good.

Providence directories identify BEN H. BAGDIKIAN, wife ELIZABETH S. residence 312 Morris Avenue, Providence, Rhode Island. The above credit bureau records also indicated that BAGDIKIAN had been born in Turkey and had a former residence at Stoneham, Massachusetts.

Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Boston, Massachusetts indicate BEN HAIG BAGDIKIAN born 1/30/20 at Marash, (Cilicia) Turkey, entered the United States at New York 5/1/20, approximately 2 months old, and subsequently obtained citizenship on a derivative basis through his father, ARAM, naturalized 3/29/26. The INS file contains no additional background data other than a request by BAGDIKIAN for a derivative citizenship certificate and an indication he was associated with the Air Force during World War II. It was not possible to obtain any data with regard to ARAM BAGDIKIAN at INS, inasmuch as his file was not immediately available and because of the desire to present this matter to the Bureau by 6/9/55.

There is enclosed herewith reprint of a series of articles entitled, "What Price Security," by BEN H. BAGDIKIAN in the nature of reprints from the Providence Journal-Bulletin newspaper during March and April, 1955, individual copies of which have been previously provided the Bureau.

COPY DESTROYED

No additional inquiry will be made in this matter pending further Bureau instructions.

Enc.

see serial 5

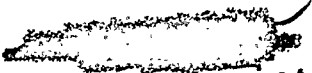
JUL 20 1955

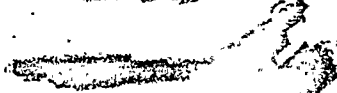
15 OF 60

JUN 30 1955

JUN 10 1955

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : 

FROM : 

SUBJECT: BEN H. BAGDIKIAN

DATE: June 16, 1955

SYNOPSIS:

You will recall Bagdikian is author of series of articles which appeared in Washington Evening Star re loyalty program. Information developed at Bureau indicated Bagdikian reporter for Providence "Journal-Bulletin" newspaper and Boston instructed June 6, 1955, to check indices and credit records re Bagdikian. SAC, Boston under dates of June 8 and 10, 1955, advised indices that office contained no references identifiable with Bagdikian. Credit Bureau records identified Bagdikian as reporter and feature writer with Providence "Journal-Bulletin" and had been employed since February, 1947. Credit record favorable, character and habits reportedly good. Immigration and Naturalization records indicate Bagdikian born in Turkey and entered U. S. in 1920. Neither identified as Aram Toros Bagdikian, a clergyman, also born in Turkey.

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

1 ENCL.

FILE

Attachment

RECORDED-35

17 JUL 6 1955

62-94717-5

51 JUL 12 1955

Memorandum to ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~

June 16, 1955

BACKGROUND:

You will recall in my memorandum of June 3, 1955, you were advised of the progress made in our efforts to identify captioned individual, the author of a series of newspaper articles concerning the loyalty program which appeared in the Washington Evening Star. Information developed indicated Bagdikian was a reporter for the Providence, Rhode Island, "Journal-Bulletin." Bureau letter to Boston, June 6, 1955, instructed that office to search its indices and to make a discreet check of credit records for information concerning Bagdikian.

DETAILS:

SAC, Boston under date of June 8, 1955, advised that the indices of that office contained no identifiable references to Ben H. Bagdikian.

Records of the Providence Credit Bureau disclosed a report of March 20, 1952, identifying Bagdikian as a reporter and feature writer with the Providence "Journal-Bulletin" newspaper. The report indicated he had started employment about February 15, 1947, having come to Providence from Monroe, Louisiana. His credit record was favorable, and his character and habits recorded as good. These records also indicated that Bagdikian was born in Turkey and had a former residence at Stoneham, Massachusetts.

Immigration and Naturalization Service records at Boston indicate Ben Haig Bagdikian was born January 30, 1920, at Marash, Turkey; entered the United States at New York, June, 1920; and subsequently obtained derivative citizenship through his father, Aram, who was naturalized March 29, 1926.

The Boston Office enclosed a reprint of the series of articles concerning the loyalty program written by Bagdikian entitled "What Price Security?" These articles appeared in the Providence "Journal-Bulletin" during March and April, 1955. This reprint is attached.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO :

DATE: June 3, 1955

FROM :

SUBJECT:

BEN H. BAGDIKIAN

This is to advise you of the progress made in our efforts to identify captioned individual who is the author of a series of newspaper articles concerning the loyalty program released by North American Newspaper Alliance currently appearing in the "Washington Star."

Search of Bureau indices has been made with negative results. Search of Bureau Library reveals reference to a Ben H. Bagdikian mentioned on pages 50-52 of the January 11, 1954, issue of "Time" magazine. This individual is described as a reporter for the Providence, Rhode Island "Journal-Bulletin" who wrote the story concerning "Facts Forum" which is financed by [REDACTED]. Additionally, a person by the same name is listed as the author of the article "Rhode Island's Salty Doctor" in the June, 1953, issue of "Coronet" magazine and also the article "What Happened to the Girl Scouts?" in the May, 1955, issue of "Atlantic Monthly." The latter magazines are not in the Library. The "Time" magazine is attached.

A search of the indices of the Washington Field Office revealed no identifiable information.

Indices of the New York Office were negative but a credit bureau report from New York City reflects that a credit bureau in August, 1949, received an inquiry from Providence, Rhode Island, concerning Ben H. Bagdikian whose wife's name was Elizabeth. It was noted they had a charge account with Sachs Fifth Avenue in New York City in 1946.

[REDACTED] was contacted by the New York Office and advised that Bagdikian is a reporter and since 1951, has been associated with the Providence "Journal-Bulletin" newspaper in Providence, Rhode Island. This individual is a free lance writer and does "on the spot" reporting for "Time." He was runner-up for the Heywood Braun Award for his outstanding articles on "Facts Forum" in the Providence "Journal-Bulletin." Latest information available to [REDACTED] was that Bagdikian was with the Washington, D. C., Bureau of the Providence "Journal."

The current Providence telephone directory contains the listing Ben H. Bagdikian, 312 Morris Avenue.

Enclosures (2)

cc -

RECORDED - 50

877 - 73

16 JUN 10 1955

(6) JUN 17 1955

62-94717-4

Memorandum to ~~REDACTED~~

June 3, 1955

It is believed advisable that we have the Boston Office check their indices and conduct a discreet check of credit records at Providence for additional background information.

RECOMMENDATION:

sent 6-6-55 That the attached letter be sent instructing the Boston Office to check their indices and records of the credit bureau for information concerning Bagdikian.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO :

DATE: 6/9/55

FROM :

SUBJECT:

BEN H. BAGDIKIAN
62-94717

Bagdikian has written a series of 6 articles captioned "What Price Security" which appeared in the Washington Star May 29 through June 3, 1955. In order that a complete set may be placed in his file, the attached clippings are being designated to go into his file as an enclosure to this memorandum.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For record purposes only.

(3)

Enclosures (6) ENCL.

62-94717-3

RECORDED - 54

INDEXED - 54

JUN 10 1955

58 JUN 16 1955

WHAT PRICE SECURITY?

One in 10 U. S. Adults Faces Loyalty Checks

By BEN H. BAGDIKIAN

On the morning of August 18, 1947, the first of 2 million Government employes began lining up to have their fingerprints taken. Thus began the loyalty-security program to protect the Federal Government from infiltration by hostile agents and unreliable citizens.

Since that day the system has never stopped growing.

Today, the 2 million have grown to more than 10 million. One in every 10 American adults must now be investigated for his loyalty, ideas, associations, relatives and personal habits in order to keep his job. And if a bill now in Congress becomes law the number could be more than tripled.

This has been a new and sometimes wild experience for Americans. It was designed originally to eliminate Federal employes whose first allegiance might be to a foreign power. But it quickly became the focal point for some of the most bitter political combat in American history.

Yet the program has had some positive results.

It has eliminated some persons of questionable loyalty from government and defense plants. It has made it more difficult for known subversives to get in. It has rattled the arrogant plans of domestic Communists. And by precipitating decisions on national loyalty it has cost the Com-

First of a series of six articles on the Government's loyalty-security program.

munist Party membership and support.

It has also established a system for protecting secrets. And it has stimulated some prudence in spreading defense information.

But the Nation plunged into this new experience with scarcely a look at where it was going. Consequently, what protection loyalty-security programs have provided has come at unnecessarily high and sometimes disastrous cost. In places it has done profound damage to the very agencies it was supposed to protect.

Warnings have been given by men notably careful of their words. Dr. Vannevar Bush, who headed the country's wartime scientific effort, last year told a congressional committee that defense lagged a "year or two behind" because of security measures. Dr. James R. Killian, president of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, has said that present security procedures may be among the "most hazardous" threats to our military defense.

So far, such warnings have been largely ignored. A new thing in the United States, the security program continues to grow without study. Unlike normal protection against espionage and sabotage provided by agencies

Continued on Page A-6, Column 1

Wash. Post and Times Herald

Wash. News

Wash. Star

N. Y. Herald Tribune

N. Y. Mirror

Date: 11/11/47

62-94717-3
ENCLOSURE

Loyalty Setup Mushrooms To Cover One in 10 Adults

Continued From First Page

Like the FBI and police, it does not detect illegal acts or plans for illegal acts. It screens all persons beforehand in an attempt to eliminate anyone who might under some circumstances commit such acts in the future. Five major categories of persons come under the program:

1. The 3 million members of the armed services.
2. The 130,000 employees of the Atomic Energy Commission and its contractors.
3. The 500,000 men at dockside under the port security program.
4. The 2.3 million employees of the Federal Government.
5. Between 3 million and 5 million workers in defense plants.

But since President Truman inaugurated the Government program in 1947, loyalty-security tests have steadily overflowed into non-Government life. The entertainment business, for example, has an unofficial, unannounced and usually denied system for "clearing" public personalities and workers on security grounds. The professions, notably teaching, have adopted security tests beyond basic allegiance. Even the manual trades have entered the field.

In Indiana, a boxer must take an anti-Communist oath before he can climb into the ring.

On a local government level, some 500,000 employees of 14 States must be screened for loyalty-security as must thousands of municipal workers.

This has brought into existence a small army of security police—investigators and administrators.

Other Units Get in Act

The FBI and Civil Service Commission do most of the investigating of Federal employees. But eight other Federal agencies also do security investigations. To cover defense plants, the armed services, for example, maintain 164 regional offices with thousands of investigators watching 20,000 plants. But these clear only the 600,000 defense workers with top classification (secret and top secret). The more than 3 million defense workers with lowest clearance (confidential) are investigated by individual companies. This work is done by private detectives.

The range of knowledge, skill and wisdom among security officers and investigators is enormous. It runs from a minority of responsible and sophisticated agents among the more carefully selected and trained men, to performances that can only be described as ignorant.

As more and more persons have been added to those who must pass loyalty-security screening to hold their jobs, the number of grounds for excluding them has increased.

In 1941 the FBI was given funds to investigate suspected subversives among applicants for government work, with warnings not to question personal beliefs. In 1942 the Civil Service Commission began screening out persons already in government employ. In 1946 government workers were made subject to firing

not only known acts of disloyalty but for a "reasonable suspicion."

Expansion in '51 and '53

In 1947, after startling revelations of successful Russian espionage, President Truman adopted the first extraordinary, government-wide, program to eliminate subversives. In 1951 this was tightened to include those whose loyalty was doubted, a significant shift from suspicion of activity to a suspicion of personal belief.

In May, 1953, President Eisenhower greatly expanded the grounds for firing. As before, a man could be fired for loyalty reasons—Communist Party membership, subversion, espionage, or association with those doing it. But now he could be fired for security reasons—if, though loyal, he had relatives who might bring pressure on him, or if he had personal traits thought to make him insecure.

During this period, the "trigger" for full investigations of personal lives has been made more sensitive. One such provocation is the national agency name check, a review of Government files in the FBI, the House Un-American Activities Committee, the military services and similar agencies. If any "derogatory information" of any kind is in such files, investigators visit the neighborhoods, schools, and places of work in the entire life of the subject. Of the 4 million Federal employees checked by national agency files during the first four years of the program, 20,000 were given full field investigations.

Files Growing

The number of files in the national agency check is growing. Contemplated is the addition of all names mentioned in a derogatory way during hearings held by Senator McCarthy, for example. Other planned additions are the files of local vigilante committees, like the Tenney Committee in California.

Another "trigger" for full field investigations is the body of congressional acts requiring all employees of certain departments to be fully checked, whether or not any derogatory information is known. In fiscal 1951-52 alone there were an estimated 100,000 full field checks done by congressional order (at a cost of more than \$200 each).

The tests applied become more stringent. One is the Attorney General's list of subversive and subversive-front organizations. When it began in 1947 it had 92 blacklisted groups. Now it has 275.

But plans for the greatest single expansion of loyalty-security investigations in American life are in Congress today. Officially, the bill is entitled the "Defense Facilities Protection Act." It applies to non-defense facilities. Although officials testified that they did not plan to use it that way, the bill would permit the executive branch to extend loyalty-security investigations to virtually every worker in private business and institutions in the United States.

**Tomorrow: Incompetence
plagues security programs.**
(Released by North American Newspaper Alliance)

WHAT PRICE SECURITY?

Real Danger of Red Plot Ignored in Loyalty Tests

By BEN H. BAGDIKIAN

In late 1948, a radio chemist answered a Government plea that he leave his private research job and return to the stepped-up atomic energy program he had left three years before. As he planned to resume his Government job the security system said he was a security risk because his old college roommate is an open Communist.

Two full years later the chemist was finally cleared, after ap-

Second of six articles on the Government's loyalty-security program.

peals and 24 months under an anguishing cloud. The fact was his old college roommate all that time had the highest clearance and was at work in an Atomic Energy Commission secret laboratory. The security officers had made a mistake in names.

A West Coast defense plant engineer was suspended as a security risk because he and his wife allegedly teamed to make street-corner Communist speeches in 1938. After a cumbersome appeal the engineer was able to perform the simple arithmetic omitted by security officers—in 1938 he was 15-years old, his wife 11 and they lived in different cities.

Men have been accused in security proceedings of:

Holding a degree from New York University.

Walking around their own
houses without clothes.

Expressing an opinion that blood in blood banks should not be segregated by race.

Contributing to the United Jewish Appeal.

Being active in the Democratic Party.

Being "married" (while a lifetime bachelor) to a "Communist wife."

It would be folly to expect no mistakes in a system that processes information on the lives of 10 million persons. But incompetence and waste have plagued the loyalty-security system from the start.

There are several reasons for this. It is a new experience in American life and runs counter to the tradition of privacy, free expression and wide association. But the compromise of this tradition, made to meet threats of infiltration, was seized by exploiters who used the program to serve their own ends. For one thing, they used it to prevent healthy, normal criticism, leaving loyalty-security programs perhaps the most vast government undertaking without such criticism.

And, in the exploitation, international Communist agents have almost been forgotten in the rush to use "anti-communism" as a

See SECURITY, Page A-5

Wash. Post and
Times Herald

Wash. News

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SECURITY

Continued From First Page

weapon against domestic political opponents. As far back as 1941, for example, Representative Martin Dies insisted that FBI investigations of subversives include nudists and technocrats.

Thus, by 1947 when the first special program began, the terms "Communist" and "anti-Communist" had been used wildly against non-Communists for more than a decade, robbing the terms of much of their specific meaning. This helped obscure the real dangers of the international Communist conspiracy—which most of the exploiters consistently ignored.

One result has been that those governed by loyalty-security programs have expressed doubt as to its fairness and sincerity. In 1952 a team of university sociologists polled employees in a dozen Government agencies on what they thought was the objective of the security program. The answers fell into three main categories: (1) to eliminate would-be spies; (2) to counteract liberal tendencies in Government; and (3) to promote partisan politics. They were asked who was most likely to get into security troubles. The answer: Those interested in social problems.

This is not necessarily how the system works, but how those governed by it think it works. It is of the utmost significance that these Government employees believe that the security system has ulterior motives.

Political exploitation has done much to destroy faith in the motives of security investigations, but so has the poor quality of investigators and officers.

Perhaps the largest body of competent investigators is the FBI, which conducts checks where loyalty is concerned. Eight other agencies also do security work. The Civil Service Commission does most of it, working with cases where personal reliability (security) are involved. The Army, Navy, Air Force, and Department of Treasury, Justice, State, Post Office, and Agriculture all use their own detectives for their own security checks using their own standards. All use agents who would not be acceptable to the FBI.

But perhaps the greatest errors are committed by private detectives working in defense plant cases, hired by individual industries who have to clear workers with access to confidential material. Many plants have turned to such reputable firms as Dun & Bradstreet. Although such agencies are notably competent to establish a man's credit, loyalty and security are different matters.

The "correctness" of personal beliefs, the significance of social and political ideas, and the meaning of professional associations are not subjects in which private detectives and account-

ants enjoy superior knowledge.

Such agents frequently make reports—resulting in defense job rings—which would be dismissed by the FBI as inadequate or meaningless. Many detectives at work on security are even less qualified, work for agencies without the good name of national credit groups.

Investigators Investigate

In fact, the security of investigators themselves has been questioned. Representative Francis E. Walter, chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee, has said that military officers and FBI agents have lifted official secret files to take with them to political jobs. When the Atomic Energy Commission and Department of Defense were asked if any security officers had ever been suspended or dismissed as security risks, they declined to answer.

Of course, the agent's report is not the last word. Theoretically, it presents only facts. These are reviewed by a security officer and department head. The decisions of these men, in turn, are usually subject to appeal to a board. There is ample evidence that the best security investigators and officers are as subject to error and prejudices as any other human beings. Yet, failures to accept their findings at face value has often brought the charge of "softness on communism." Worse, the frustrated officers have bypassed the system and slipped their unevaluated information to congressional friends who used it for political attacks.

As a result, the typical Washington department head has come to fear espionage less and dirty politics more. It has become common to drop a man as a security risk not because he constitutes a danger to the Nation but because congressional figures could use information in the case to embarrass the department.

Powerful political figures have used the myriad fragments of security data to imply that massive disloyalty exists throughout the Government. How justified is this picture?

4 Million Checked

In the first four years of the security program, some 4 million men and women were checked and 378 dismissed after appeals. Another 6,000 resigned without appealing, some no doubt because of damaging backgrounds but others because appeals are anguishing and expensive. This record was called "softness on communism."

During the expanded Eisenhower program—with many of the avenues of appeal eliminated—some 8,003 persons have been dropped as "security risks." Of these, 2,096 left while there was "derogatory information" in their files relating to loyalty; 655 for sex perversion; 2,648 for felonies and misdemeanors; and the majority, 4,417, for allegations of undesirable personal traits such as gambling, sexual promiscuity, etc.

Thus, three out of four left for reasons entirely unconnected with disloyalty. The remaining 25 per cent were never submitted to higher adjudication which in the past had restored seven-eighths of such cases to their jobs.

Using its vastly more stringent standards for secret clearance, the Atomic Energy Commission since 1947 has investigated over 500,000 employees for Q-clearance. Of these, one-tenth of 1 per cent were denied clearance and less than 1 per cent resigned before a decision.

The campaign to portray America as honeycombed with traitors is plainly contrary to fact. It not only is false, but it hampers programs to detect real acts of disloyalty. J. Edgar Hoover, director of the FBI, has said, "Hysteria, witch hunts and vigilantes weaken internal security."

Tomorrow: Security vs. Science

North American Newspaper Alliance

WHAT PRICE SECURITY?

Supersecrecy Slows Advance of Science

By BEN U. BAGDIKIAN

Today there is a physicist in a Government laboratory waiting to hear whether he is a "security risk" and therefore in danger of ending his professional career.

Six years ago he asked security officers whether his forthcoming marriage would affect his secret clearance. His fiancée had no security problem, but her parents occasionally associated with persons thought to be pro-Communists. The physicist planned never to see his in-laws after the wedding. The security officers assured him the marriage would not jeopardize his status.

Five years later the physicist suddenly had his clearance revoked. The charge: His wife's parents are believed to associate with alleged pro-Communists. The information against him was precisely that volunteered by himself and accepted by the Government. He has appealed at a cost to himself of about \$1,000 and approximately \$10,000 to the Government. He is still waiting for a decision.

Last year an aeronautical engineer who had worked for the Government for 14 years was suspended from his top secret project in Seattle, putting him out of a job and all but stopping the urgent project. The charge involved information he had given the Government in 1940, which had been investigated and cleared at least twice since then. After six months he was restored. The personal cost of the appeal to him was \$3,242.83, to the Government, six months' loss of time on an important defense project.

These are the kinds of cases that today are causing America's best young scientists to fear Government work. In 1953 a poll of science Ph.D.'s graduating from research universities showed them equally divided on where they would like to work, one-third each in Government, industry and universities. In 1954 after the investigation of Fort Monmouth and the case of Dr.

J. Robert Oppenheimer—a poll of Ph.D.'s showed that the 33 per cent who wanted to work for the Government had dropped to 8 per cent. The chief reason given: security.

In fact, about half of all the new Ph.D.'s said they would prefer a lower salary to going through the present uncertainties of security practices.

The Nation cannot afford to discourage young scientists. At a time when its requirements for trained men were rising sharply, bachelor degrees in science have been dropping, 20 per cent in 1950-51, another 25 per cent the next year.

In four years all bachelor degrees in science and engineering have dropped from 80,000 to 34,000.

During this same period, Russia has been extolling the scholar and scientist and encouraging its best brains to go into research. In a few years, Russia will be graduating 80,000 engineers a year. Last year the United States graduated 19,000. And experts say it would be fatal to underestimate the growing quality of Russian engineers.

It is figures like these which led Dr. John R. Dunning, dean of the Columbia University School of Engineering to say, "We have almost lost the battle for scientific manpower."

Similarly, the Government as a whole cannot afford to encourage public contempt of highly trained, studious men, or "egg-heads." The Federal establishment would collapse without them. Twenty per cent of all Federal employees are of profes-

sional rank, most of them with graduate degrees. Another 37 per cent are of top industrial skill. But while more than half are of top-grade talent, only 1 per cent of Government workers get \$9,000 or more. The legal limit for Civil Service is \$14,500 a year. It is precisely in these badly needed skills that the Government cannot compete with private industry in attracting talent.

Secrecy Hit

Another factor in discouraging Government research is supersecrecy. It hampers not only the individual scientist, but at times the Government itself.

Recently, the Department of Defense completed a "secret" project. All that can be said of it is that it cost somewhere between \$10,000 and \$100,000 and took a number of senior scientists about a year to complete.

Unaware of the "secret" project, some non-Government scientists in a university did exactly the same work and published

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their results. The published results were seen by scientists everywhere, who criticized and used them to improve their own projects and push to new horizons. This demonstrates a number of things:

1. There is no such thing as a permanent secret of nature; 2. Any scientific discovery is a link to the future which, if kept secret, stalls the next step but does not prevent others from creating their own links; and 3. Safes, security officers and generals do not create new weapons like atomic bombs or defenses against them; only the "egg-heads" can do that.

Few scientists want abolition of secrecy in military research, but almost all make a distinction between tactical secrets (such as actual weapons designs, military plans, storage points of bombs, etc.) And secrets of nature (such as the basic information on matter which any scientist anywhere can work on).

No One Has Monopoly

The fact that no nation has a monopoly on research was demonstrated last year when fall-out ash covered a Japanese fishing vessel after a hydrogen bomb test at Bikini. The Atomic Energy Commission has not revealed scientific data on fall-out materials for fear it would tell something of materials in the bomb. But four months after Japanese scientists began their analysis of materials on the fishing vessel, they had published an open paper giving the elements involved, their proportions and the amount of radioactivity in each—more information than the AEC has published to date.

Another facet of secrecy keeps scientific facts bottled up in sealed compartments, giving each scientist only the information he needs in his own work. This is sound military doctrine on secrets, but it can be fatal to scientific progress. Some of the greatest advances have come from men who saw information they did not need in their own work, or at least thought so. The telegraph has born, for example, because a physicist, Alessandro Volta, in 1778 discovered a mistaken interpretation by Luigi Galvani of Galvani's own work. Under today's Government secret research rules, Volta would never see Galvani's data and discovery of the error would have been delayed.

Today a secret-cleared AEC scientist in Los Alamos has a laboratory problem. A friend in an Eastern university, also a secret-cleared AEC man doing AEC research thinks he has the answer but cannot question his

friend because in his own project he has no need to know details of his friend's work at Los Alamos.

Security measures, as typified in the Walter-McCarran Immigration Act, also impede scientific progress which in the past had been aided by friendly foreign scientists. Since enactment of the law about half of all foreign scientists applying have been forbidden to visit the United States. Some have contributed much to this country. Dr. Marcus Oliphant of England, for example, gave information on radar during World War II which the United States said was "probably the most important single item of reverse lend-lease." Yet, under the McCarran Act, Oliphant was not permitted to attend a non-secret conference here. Prof. E. B. Chain of England, codiscoverer of penicillin whose wartime collaboration saved hundreds of American soldiers, was not permitted to set foot on United States soil for a three-day visit.

Of the 12 men who headed the Los Alamos atom bomb project, half were foreign-born and thus of questionable clearance today. The leader, J. Robert Oppenheimer, was declared a security risk last year.

The combination of super-secrecy and distrust of scientists from friendly nations does not produce the strength which the United States depends on. This was only too clear in an incident during the building of the atomic submarine, the Nautilus.

At one time it was feared the sub would require extensive redesign because of "sleeping sickness," paralysis of its atomic engine by accumulation of a chemical, xenon, whenever the engine stopped. The Government desperately needed basic information on the nature of xenon. A Canadian with top clearance in his native country's atomic project was brought to this country to do open research under an AEC grant.

—Couldn't Get Clearance

Being a Canadian he could not get American clearance, a fact that did not bother anyone until it was discovered that he seemed to have discovered certain reactions and equations which might apply to the "sleeping sickness" problem. But he could not be asked to apply his

reactions to American data because he was not permitted to know the American data.

A fairly high-level conference was held in New York. An elaborate plan was devised to have the Canadian apply his reactions to some dummy figures, while concealing the true American figures. But at the last minute a nervous security officer dismissed the Canadian from the room, fearful that some secrets might be disclosed.

This left the American data secret and secure. But it also left them useless. Fortunately, the Canadian's data was recovered later and the sub did not have to be redesigned. No one knows in how many other instances we are not so lucky.

Tomorrow: The case of Dr. John Punnett Peters.

(Released by North American
Newspaper Alliance)

WHAT PRICE SECURITY?

Political Buccaneers Exploit Loyalty Setup

By BEN H. BAGDIKIAN

Two years ago Dr. John Punnett Peters of Yale was dropped as a security risk from his part-time job as adviser on a Government panel. It was a minor event lost in the national spectacle over internal security.

But his case may end the se-

Fourth of six articles on the Government's loyalty-security program.

curity system as it has operated for eight years.

The Supreme Court has agreed to review the case of Dr. Peters to see if he was deprived of constitutional rights, even though it has long been agreed that no one has a constitutional right to a Government job. Dr. Peters asserts that today the term "security risk" involves more than loss of a Government job. He asserts it also includes a livelihood, a profession or a place in society.

The original design of the security system was to provide department heads enough information to decide which citizens would be suited for Government work in times of international stress. No guilt or innocence was involved, no punishment, no deliberate effect on private life. This way, the Constitution presented no barrier. But political exploiters had other ideas.

Program Exploited

Adventurers were quick to recognize that the security issue offered fame, fortune and political power. By spectacular exploitation, the original intent of the program has been changed until today the "security risk" label may cripple a man's position for a lifetime, despite the undisputed fact that the great majority of risk cases have nothing to do with loyalty.

Even in loyalty cases, no determination of legal guilt is involved. In 1949, for example, Dr. Peters was investigated and cleared. In 1951, his case was reopened, and this time he was charged with Communist Party membership, which he denied

and after a hearing, he was cleared again. In 1953, he was charged again. The appeal board did not know the identity of the accusers or even if they had made the accusations under oath. Dr. Peters again denied the charges under oath and presented witnesses, including an ex-president of Yale. The Government presented no case. In June of that year he was dismissed as a security risk.

May Kill System

If the Supreme Court decides that the Government should present a legal case, on the basis that the "security risk" label is too disastrous for a man to carry without legal safeguards, then the present security system will be ended. For this the critics of security cannot be blamed. The fault will lie with those exploiters of security whose sloppy methods, incompetent administration and harassment of innocent persons wrecked the only possibility of a fair and efficient program.

Confusion from high sources has not helped. Statistics show that the great majority of security cases involve no suspicion of disloyalty. Yet high officials have often given the public the impression that the term "security risk" involves treason. Postmaster General Arthur Summerfield referred to security risks in this manner: "Somehow I do not feel too amiably inclined toward people who make treason a preoccupation." Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, Republican, of Wisconsin, referred to security risk: "Almost all of them removed because of Communist activities or connections or perversion." Gradually the term has become a horrid label that can ruin men's lives.

The distortion of security has affected not only Government workers, but their bosses. It

has become difficult to handle security matters in a calm and sensible manner. Too often, when "security" enters the door, common sense goes out the window. This was demonstrated in the case of a Rhode Island industrial engineer.

Doomed by White Lies

The engineer went to work at Quonset Naval Air Station, outside Providence, in 1948, and soon became a key man designing a badly needed jet overhaul building. He so impressed his superiors that they urged him to apply for a Civil Service promotion, which he did.

In his application he repeated certain exaggerations he had made about his past experience. In his original application for Civil Service he had said he earned \$6,000 while at Western Electric some years past, and that as a private consultant he had supervised as many as 1,000 men. The facts were that at Western Electric he had earned \$4,500 a year, and as a private consultant he had supervised nowhere near 1,000 men. Asked why he made the exaggerations, the engineer said he had wanted the job and that such "puffing" was almost standard in Civil Service circles.

The Civil Service Commission held up the promotion, charging "fraud" on the application. It withdrew the engineer's security clearance. The engineer's superiors in the meantime told him to ignore the matter, which appeared a minor administrative routine since there was no question of the engineer's ability or his accomplishments at Quonset. While he was a "security risk" the engineer was part of a key group testifying to a Navy bureau on a proposed Navy installation he had helped design.

Dickering between Civil Service and the engineer, with the local Navy superiors on his side, went on for four years after he had gone to work at Quonset. Then the engineer was ordered fired as a security risk.

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Not a Risk

He began a long series of trips to Washington, paying travel expenses for himself and his lawyers. But no one wanted to take responsibility for lifting a "security risk" label. Finally the Secretary of the Navy convened a special board which, after an extended hearing, declared that the engineer was not a risk and that he had been more than punished for his application statements. The board affirmed his contributions to naval air defense.

For the next year, the engineer could not get a job. He wrapped bundles and delivered packages. A full year afterward he found that Quonset was answering queries from prospective employers by stating merely that the engineer had been relieved of duty because he had lost his security clearance. The base did not say the clearance was reinstated.

The engineer spent more than \$4,000 on the case, has been out of engineering work for two years. A Federal court said it could do nothing for him.

The same hypertension about security moves it into more than irrelevant individual cases. It has moved it into irrelevant fields of research, such as in the curing of disease.

Sickle cell anemia, for example, is a congenial, weakening disease with no known cure. About a million Americans are susceptible to it. The research is entirely open. No secrets are involved.

Dr. Linus Pauling of the California

Institute of Technology, probably knows more about the basic blood problems involved than any other man. He is a former president of the American Chemical Society and last year's Nobel Prize winner. He is "controversial." The Russians have attacked his theory of resonance (explaining how molecules are held together) as "bourgeois." In this country Senator McCarthy, Louis Budenz and others have said Dr. Pauling was part of the Communist conspiracy. Dr. Pauling has denied this under oath on several occasions, saying the accusations stem from the fact he is a pacifist and has signed every peace petition he could get his hands on.

Dr. Pauling was once refused a passport by the State Department (which relented when he received the Nobel Prize). The Voice of America once denied a French request to let Dr. Pauling be interviewed on a tape recording for interested Frenchmen.

More recently, Dr. Pauling applied to the United States Public Health Service for research grants to investigate sickle cell anemia. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare denied the grant. Secretary Oveta Culp Hobby said her department does not make grants for persons where there is "substantial information bearing on loyalty."

Such a policy, though, has often been considered a device to protect agencies from political attacks, rather than against sub-

version. In some cases scientists with political enemies who have applied for grants for medical research have been told nothing by the Government but indirectly have been informed that they would do better if they applied for their academic department and left their own names off the application.

Shortly after Dr. Pauling was refused the Government grant for research on sickle anemia, the department of chemistry at the California Institute of Technology (chairman: Dr. Pauling) applied for the same grant, using names of two associates but omitting that of Dr. Pauling. The grant was quickly made.

Later the National Science Foundation, also a Government agency but with a different opinion, quickly granted money to Dr. Pauling in his own name.

In such cases, there is every evidence that the greatest loss is not to the individual, but to the Government and the public.

Dr. Henry M. Wriston, president of Brown University, has said:

"If a scientist is henceforth to be judged not by what he does scientifically, but what he does socially, if he is barred from things which he does superbly because of things he does not do well, we are setting curbs upon the progress of the United States for which all of us will pay a bitter, and it may be a fatal, penalty."

Tomorrow: The price our diplomacy pays.

(Released by North American)

WHAT PRICE SECURITY...

Diplomacy by Panic Muzzles Our Envoys

By BEN H. BAGDIKIAN

One of Hitler's major mistakes was to misjudge America's unity and warmaking potential—a mistake encouraged by his foreign service agents, who were afraid to tell their government what they saw with their own eyes.

A major source of Russia's neurotic attitude toward the

Fifth of six articles on the Government's loyalty-security program.

free world appears to be her insistence that what exists in other countries is nonexistent if it disagrees with Moscow policy.

Today some of this fatal process has begun to weaken American diplomacy.

An American Foreign Service officer admits privately that even though he is supposed to be his Government's eyes and ears near the Iron Curtain, he is afraid to gain the confidence of sources close to the Communists for fear this might be used against him in some future security proceedings.

A career officer says he will no longer recommend anything contrary to the dominant policy at home, even if what he sees indicates the opposite.

Policemen Take Over

Louis J. Halle, until last August a member of the State Department policy planning staff, has said:

"The Secretary of State has, in a few instances, at least, been given dangerous advice that he would not have been given if these pressures had not existed.

... Security officers read the memoranda and make their own judgment. ... By these indirect methods the policemen have gained some control over American foreign policy, a field in which they have no competence."

Political police officers in the State Department open personal secret files of top diplomats to read memoranda. It is the belief of career officers that the security officers are looking for "dangerous thoughts." True or not, the experts whose opinions are asked on serious problems, believe it to be true.

Security officers also review all policy advice sent in from foreign missions, a fact well known to men in the field. Speaking from personal experience one highly placed official said:

"It is amusing in a grim sort of way to see a good man describing a development with precision and skill and then finish with a recommendation that it is contrary to all the facts he has just reported."

No Mischief Allowed

Another common practice which has demoralized State Department personnel is the minute investigation into sex lives of men whose jobs are wanted. Few family men want their early escapades to become a matter of public debate. In this way many top diplomats have been dropped.

The sincerity of some of these investigations was under doubt. Suspicions were not allayed when the Department Security Chief, R. W. Scott McLeod told an audience, "Sometimes it is extremely difficult to replace an individual whose viewpoint does not coincide with that of the Republican Party."

Curious standards have been used in judging highly specialized work. John Carter Vincent and John Paton Davies, jr., two of the country's top diplomatic experts on China, were dismissed after being accused of showing "poor judgment" in opinions they had been asked for on Chinese affairs. The board members who decided the judgment had been poor had no experience in Chinese affairs.

The sincerity of charges has been suspect on other grounds. Oliver Edmund Clubb, another expert on China dropped by the department, was once charged by security officers of having made a "slightly pink" report from Shanghai in 1938. The report was in the official files, which apparently, the security officers had not bothered to look

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at. Mr. Clubb submitted it as evidence. It definitely disproved the charge. A similar charge against Mr. Davies also was refuted with his own report, which security officers had not looked at at first.

The obsessive pursuit of security at any cost has extended to political affairs outside of Government.

One of the major sources of information and advice used by the Government to chart the affairs inside Russia are the various Russian study centers at American Universities. From such places come the Government experts who study Russia as well as special analyses requiring scholarly resources outside the Federal establishment. The main source of information for such study centers is Russian publications. Today customs delays or destroys such publications. At Columbia's Russian Institute, for example, one-third of all its Russian material is regularly held up by customs—about 1,000 publications a month—and some of it burned. Often when it finally arrives it is too late to do any good.

The customs inspector has been made personally responsible that no "unauthorized" American see Russian propaganda, including Soviet reports on its economy, science, budget, etc. Customs translators cannot always read every new publication, sometimes burn the backlog to make room.

Post Office in Act

Now the United States Post Office has decided it will not deliver the major Russian newspapers, Pravda and Izvestia, to individuals in the United States, cutting off from individual students of Russia their major source of day-to-day news of what goes on inside the Kremlin and Soviet Union at large.

At the same time, foreign experts on Russia have trouble coming to this country to tell what they know. Within the last two years a planned international conference on Soviet affairs was canceled when it was realized that most of the foreign experts would have trouble getting visas under the Walter-McCarran Immigration Act, precisely because they were experts on Russia.

Dr. George Fischer, author and analyst of Russian affairs, had planned a course on Russian history at Brandeis University. He needed a Russian book by a 19th century author, copies of which were available only in Moscow. Customs held the books up six months. The course had to be canceled.

Referring to barriers by customs and the Post Office (which have offered scholars the opportunity to get their materials by registering as Soviet agents), Mr. Fischer says, "I'll just leave the field of Russian study. And I think most other men in my position will, too."

It has even been suggested that Communist themselves can take advantage of security measures to make the Government

hurt itself. Because the program so often has seemed to act thoughtlessly, moved by partisan politics, scapegoatism, puritanism and anti-intellectualism, it has been easier to eliminate men of loyalty and skill. Two-thirds of the top experts in the two most critical fields of American diplomacy against Russia—China and Germany—have been knocked out by the use of "security."

George F. Kennan, principal architect of the cold war and America's foremost expert on the international Communist conspiracy, has said:

"As things stand today, I can see no reason why malicious people should have any particular difficulty in rendering unavailable for service to this country almost any person whom they select for this treatment. All that is necessary is to release a spate of rumors and gossip and demands for investigation."

(North American Newspaper Alliance)

WHAT PRICE SECURITY?

It Has Become a Hoax, Cruel and Dangerous

By BEN H. BAGDIKIAN

It is almost fashionable today to say that something is wrong with the machinery of internal security. But the basic problem is not the machine itself. It is its design, or, rather, the lack of it.

No official body has ever bothered to determine precisely what the machine is supposed to do and where it is supposed to stop.

To be sure, there is a general impression that the machine is supposed to protect tactical secrets and that it should keep foreign agents and unsuitable citizens from sensitive jobs.

But for several years panic over security has permitted the machine to wander over the national scene at the command of anyone with ambition to grab the controls, turning out results willy-nilly and threatening to become a kind of haphazard law of the land.

In the resulting confusion Government itself has been hurt, producing demoralization at precisely the time defense most depended on high morale.

But the effects have gone far beyond official agencies. Protection of secrets is a necessary but only secondary consideration in the world today. True national security must begin with a reservoir of talented, well-trained minds devoted to individual freedom. Without such a creative community only insignificant plans, mediocre machines, and obsolescent secrets will ever need protection.

Because security has become involved in party politics, there would seem much to recommend a high-level, non-partisan commission. Its members might represent competence in foreign relations, science, jurisprudence, espionage, and civil liberties, among other things. Only then could the Government make intelligent basic changes.

Last of six articles on the Government's
loyalty-security program.

Problems continue to exist outside of official procedure. For one thing, millions have fallen under the myth of "100 per cent security."

Dangerous Myth

This myth is the basis for provisions in the Walter-McCarran Immigration Act which presupposes that America has more to gain from isolation. The myth also presupposes that the Government can guarantee perfect protection against disloyalty anywhere in the United States. The Government certainly should protect itself. But bitter experience shows that no government can buy perfect protection. Even more bitter experience shows that only a police state is designed to attempt such futile protection and that the attempt in modern times has always led to disaster.

Consequently, it has been said that the most profitable and effective internal security system is one that covers a well-defined, small area. This would seem important for philosophical reasons and practical ones, as well. There are not enough wise and knowledgeable security officers to watch everyone everywhere. The wider the coverage the more incompetence and the weaker the protection. Today the United States is drifting rapidly toward a general and diffuse security of doubtful effectiveness. The ideal of large numbers of men indicted—the policeman's dream—has tended to replace the ideal of many good men at work—the requisite for a successful modern democracy.

Improving the quality of se-

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curity officers, defining their functions more carefully, and providing once again the superior appeal boards which would settle security differences between departments—all would help resolve some practical problems. Others remain.

Perpetual jeopardy has plagued security from the start. It stems chiefly from politics, which chooses its victims beforehand, then brings charges and presses them until they stick, regardless of how many times a man has disproved them. One suggestion has been a period during which man's case cannot be reopened unless substantial new information against him is found.

Permitting a man to face his accusers would clarify many flimsy cases at once. The argument against it is that it would force the Government to reveal undercover agents who supply damning facts. This is true in some cases but probably only in a minority. Many unjustified and costly cases have been brought on the basis of unsworn testimony of persons whose unreliability or honest errors would be established at once if they were placed in the light of day. Anyone familiar with police work knows with what care a prosecutor sifts his evidence if he knows he has to produce witnesses—and the temptations if he does not.

Unevaluated Data

Use of unevaluated information might, except in rare cases, be banned. To suspend a man on the basis of an undocumented rumor can be unjust to him but also harmful to the Government work he is doing. Disciplined judgment of evidence is the best protection for both the individual and the Government.

Some measures might well be taken against public use of unimproved security information. If Government investigators demand the right to collect vast quantities of information about its citizens, it would seem both common sense and common decency to take more than token steps to prevent disclosure of gossip and loose recollection.

Too Cumbersome

A general return to personal attention to individual cases, instead of formal, cumbersome bureaucracy would do much to make security more effective. It would also provide a better detection of clever subversives (almost none of whom would be stopped by the political screening of formal security).

There is no justification for complacency about the security of the United States today. Neither is there justification for abandoning values that for 179 years have demonstrated to the world that a free and confident society is stronger than the toughest police state on earth.

No loyal person would argue with the official objectives of the security program. It would be one of the tragedies of history if the United States were to fall under control of the totalitarian Communist conspiracy. But it would be one of the ironies of history if the country unwittingly backed into a similar condition in the belief it was avoiding it.

(Released by the NANA.)

SAC, Boston

June 6, 1955

Director, ~~FBI~~

BEN H. BAGDIKIAN
MISCELLANEOUS
RESEARCH (CRIME RECORDS)

The Bureau is interested in identifying and obtaining background data concerning one Ben H. Bagdikian who is the author of a series of articles released through the North American Newspaper Alliance which are currently appearing in the Washington, D. C., "Evening Star." Information available at the Bureau indicates that a person by the same name was a reporter with the Providence, Rhode Island "Journal-Bulletin" and it is also noted that the current Providence telephone directory contains a listing for Bagdikian at 312 Morris Avenue.

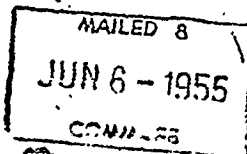
You are instructed to make a search of the indices of your office and to make a discreet check of appropriate credit records for information concerning Bagdikian. The results should be submitted to the Bureau captioned as above by June 9, 1955.

Follow-up for June 10, 1955

cc - [redacted]

NOTE: See [redacted] memo captioned "Ben H. Bagdikian" dated 6-3-55.

(6)



RECORDED

EX-121

10 JUN 8 1955

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RECEIVED ROOM

FBI

U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

JUN 6 10

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FBI

102-14717-2
10 JUN 8 1955

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : The Director

DATE: May 19, 1951

FROM : ~~REDACTED~~SUBJECT: BEN BAGDIKIAN ~~REDACTED~~PURPOSE:

To answer your inquiry "What do our files show on Ben Bagdikian? H."

RESULT OF SEARCH:

A search of the Bureau indices did not disclose any reference to an individual with the name of Ben Bagdikian.

ACTION:

None. Foregoing furnished for your information.

SE 18

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898
60 JUN 21 1951

ORD

Jury Denies Libel Balm to Arrowsmith

PROVIDENCE, R. I. 1958, and the *Evening Bulletin* the next day. The articles were based on Mr. Bagdikian's investigations and interviews with Mr. Arrowsmith and George Lincoln Rockwell, self-styled leader of the American Nazi Party. The two men were associated in the printing and circulation from Arlington, Va. in the summer of 1958 of articles ascribed to the "National Committee to Free America from Jewish Domination."

A jury in U. S. District Court returned verdicts recently for the Providence Journal Company in a \$750,000 libel suit brought against it by Harold Noel Arrowsmith Jr. of Baltimore. Mr. Arrowsmith had asked damages of \$250,000 on each of three counts. He claimed that he had been libeled by a United Press International story from Atlanta, Ga., published in the *Providence Journal* on Oct. 18, 1958. It told of the investigation of the dynamiting six days earlier of an Atlanta synagogue, said that five men had been indicted and that Mr. Arrowsmith had been questioned by the FBI and predicted the arrest of the financial backer of the bombers.

Bagdikian's Stories

Mr. Arrowsmith claimed in the two other counts that he had been libeled in articles by Ben H. Bagdikian, former *Journal-Bulletin* staff reporter, published in the *Journal* on Nov. 9,

The stories referred to Mr. Arrowsmith as a "fascist" and "anti-Semite."

The defense was based on three contentions: That all three articles were privileged as a matter of public interest and concern and were published in reliance on sources, in good faith and without malice; that the Bagdikian articles were true in substance and in fact, and that the plaintiff had in no way been damaged.

Michael J. Ogden, who was *Journal-Bulletin* managing editor in 1958, testified that he "approved" the Bagdikian articles. Sevellon Brown, who was *Journal-Bulletin* editor in 1958, testified that the decision to publish the articles was made "jointly" by him and Mr. Ogden.

Reliance on Wire Copy

Mr. Ogden, now executive editor, and Mr. Brown, now associate editor, described how Mr. Bagdikian was assigned to interview Rockwell and how the interview with the plaintiff developed out of the Rockwell assignment. Both said they did not know Mr. Arrowsmith before that and that they held no animosity, malice, spite, ill will or bad feeling toward him when

the Bagdikian articles were published.

Mr. Ogden said the newspapers placed "great reliance" on wire service copy, such as the United Press International report from Atlanta published Oct. 18, 1958, on investigation of a synagogue bombing, which is cited in the libel complaint.

The plaintiff's lawyer undertook to delve into Mr. Bagdikian's acknowledged "Armenian background" and asked whether he "considered himself an Armenian" when he came to this country. Mr. Bagdikian replied that he was only four months old at that time and so did not "consider" himself to be anything.

Unsecretive Report On the C. I. A.

By BEN H. BAGDIKIAN

BEN H. BAGDIKIAN is a veteran Washington reporter now with The Saturday Evening Post.

WASHINGTON.

A LAPEL button being sold in Washington drug stores these days reads, "My work is so secret I don't know what I'm doing." This has been used as an accusation by some members of Congress and others who want to turn a permanent floodlight on the most glamorous citadel of secrecy in the capital, the Central Intelligence Agency.

Though the C.I.A. has been under increasing criticism for more than three years, the present Congressional agitation is considered the most serious. Some critics would like to keep the agency under constant Congressional surveillance. Others want to dismember it, to separate its three functions—collecting information, evaluating it and carrying out secret operations.

The immediate provocation is the furor in South Vietnam, where at times the President of the United States and the C.I.A. seem to be at cross-purposes. Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, under the impression, which is correct, that C.I.A. men in foreign countries are supposed to do what the Ambassador tells them, almost openly challenged the C.I.A. chief in that area. The Saigon episode is the culmination of a series of C.I.A. crises in recent times, most notably the crash of the U-2 plane in Russia just before the summit conference of 1960 and

The Washington Post and Times Herald _____
The Washington Daily News _____
The Evening Star _____
New York Herald Tribune _____
New York Journal-American _____
New York Mirror _____
New York Daily News _____
New York Post _____
The New York Times _____
The Worker _____
The New Leader _____
The Wall Street Journal _____
The National Observer _____
People's World _____
Date _____

OCT 27 1962

the disastrous Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in 1961. There have been resolutions to put a rein on the agency in the last 10 sessions of Congress, but this year the possibilities of success are greater than ever before.

The C.I.A. finds itself under fire at an uneasy time in its history as a secret agency. Its existence has always been known, of course, from the time it was created by Congress in 1947, and since 1950, when it assumed its present form, its three chiefs—Gen. Walter Bedell Smith, Allen Dulles and John McCone—have all been public figures. But only recently has the C.I.A. taken on the aura of a conventional Government bureau. It used to live in drab anonymity in barrackslike buildings scattered around Washington's Foggy Bottom, behind the cover, "Government Printing Office." Its headquarters were so unpretentious that President Eisenhower and his chauffeur once got lost trying to find it and had to stop and telephone Allen Dulles for instructions.

GRADUALLY, the C.I.A. has risen to high visibility. Today it occupies one of the most imposing new buildings in the Washington area. Its once awesome initials have entered the language of satire: Cuban refugees in Miami say they stand for "Cuban Invasion Authority," and in 1960 the Soviet Information Bureau used the initials for a book on the C.I.A. called, "Caught in the Act."

Public knowledge about the C.I.A. is a blend of rumor, third-hand infor-

mation and a few hard facts, which the agency officially never confirms or denies. It has been accused of harboring geniuses, of which it has more than its share, and also an assortment of nuts, dolts and screwballs, and these also are not unknown. The late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy said it was packed with Communists, and liberals have said it is riddled with rightists.

One reason for the wild speculation is lack of certain knowledge. Its basic statistics are not announced. Its budget is not printed where the public can see it, going through Congress in fragments hidden in appropriations for other Government activities. The number and kind of its employees is an official secret. A few of its grievous failures have been fairly well documented, its successes usually unannounced. There are true heroes and undoubtedly some villains, but you can't tell the players without a score card and no scorecard has ever been printed.

Representative John V. Lindsay, of New York, one of the Congressmen proposing a legislative watchdog committee over C.I.A., said in a speech recently that the agency failed to predict the entry of Red China into the Korean War; that in 1956 a C.I.A. agent told President Nasser to ignore a State Department message the Egyptian leader was about to receive; that the C.I.A. was deeply involved in the East Berlin, Poznan and Hungarian rebellions in the 1950's; that it was instrumental in overthrowing the Mossadegh regime in Iran in 1953 and the Arbenz regime in Guatemala in 1954.

The C.I.A. has come under fire for fostering the illusion that there was a 3-to-1 missile gap between the United States and Russia in the nineteen-fifties when in fact there was not. Rafael Trujillo's former chief of secret police said the Dominican dictator was assassinated in 1961 with C.I.A. weapons and planning. And French newspapers said C.I.A. was behind the revolt of French Army officers against Charles de Gaulle.

ON the other hand, the C.I.A. is credited with predicting the launching of Sputnik, the anti-Nixon riots in South America, the rise of Khrushchev to Soviet power, and the Anglo-French invasion of Suez. Harry Howe Ransom, of Harvard University, the leading academic student of C.I.A., says such events are "the top of the iceberg of a vast secret intelligence program."

According to Professor Ransom, the United States spends \$2 billion a year on intelligence operations, of which C.I.A. spends "over half a billion." It is the only agency of Government whose books are not open to the General Accounting Office or even to Congress. It has about 10,000 employees in Washington and maybe as many more elsewhere. In the past it has drawn heavily on Ivy League circles for leadership but today it employs a wide variety of bright young lawyers, both Ivy and non-Ivy, and acute businessmen, plus some middleaged foreigners who know how to parachute from airplanes.

If the

American public knows little about the C.I.A., foreign intelligence agencies honor it with unrelenting scrutiny. During the Korean war an important but officially anonymous C.I.A. executive, whom we will call Scattergood, was walking by the door of the Czech Mission in Washington when the doorman bowed and said gravely, "Good morning, Dr. Scattergood."

It is a truism that 80 per cent of intelligence is pure analysis of conventional documents to provide the basic picture illuminated by shafts of less orthodox light sent in by secret agents. Most of its work is a boring battle of routine words and numbers, but upon it depends the reliability of the world-wide intelligence report the C.I.A. hands the President every morning and its estimates of national power and intentions at critical moments.

THE present controversy, though, is not concerned so much with either the secret agents or the wan specialists reading foreign budget reports. It is over the more or less secret C.I.A. men abroad who work out of American embassies. At the middle ranks of American diplomats, the political-officer level, about half the men in an embassy may be C.I.A. employees. If there are guerrilla or other paramilitary operations, several hundred of the experts may be from C.I.A.

Career diplomats have a common complaint about C.I.A. reporters abroad. They are, say Foreign Service men, not sufficiently sophisticated but they have money to spend and so have incomparable more freedom and power than regular diplomats. The C.I.A. traditionally pays for information, though not necessarily in cash but through personal friendships that make cars and apartments easy to find, thereby cultivating a sense of obligation and sympathy. The C.I.A. rates its information on a scale from "1" for absolutely reliable to "6" for unreliable and thinks the scale quite stringent (legend has it that a report of Allen Dulles was once rated "2").

But career diplomats think free information is usually a lot better, and that the mass of data collected by free-wheeling C.I.A. men fall mostly in the 2-3-4 categories while the limited cables and professional perceptions of Foreign Service officers are sounder.

DOES the C.I.A. make policy? Allen Dulles in his new book, "The Craft of Intelligence," calls this the most harmful myth about C.I.A. Yet much may hinge on what is meant by "policy." The C.I.A. certainly does not set national goals or make foreign policy. But such goals and

policy are usually general and their implementation is left unspecified, permitting vast discretion as to how best to achieve national goals. The head of C.I.A. sits in the small and crucial Executive Committee of the National Security Council; the President has many advisers but few get as respectful attention as he.

IN the field C.I.A. men are nominally, but not necessarily in practice, under orders of the U.S. Ambassador. They may decide which unions to back, which opposition parties to subsidize, which newspapers to strengthen. In one case, a high State Department official wanted a few thousand dollars to back an important union in danger of being taken over by Marxists, but the source of money, the C.I.A., demurred. Thus C.I.A. does not make policy in any formal way but it is a major influence in the shaping of national behavior abroad.

Supporters of C.I.A. think it unfair to accuse the agency of usurping State Department functions. They feel, rather, that it is more accurate to say it has expanded into areas unfilled by any other American agency. The post-war years brought a rude awakening to the United States. The world was filled with deadly serious intrigue and manipulation in which foreign societies were no longer stable. Dynamic change was the by-word and many of these societies were on the verge of becoming part of a global system hostile to the United States. Intervention, always a nasty word in American diplomatic history, even when it was practiced, became a major technique of international relations.

The State Department entered this unpleasant new

world at a serious disadvantage. Its tradition, more than that of most powerful foreign offices, was genuinely in favor of open and correct foreign relations. As the official delegation to regimes in power, it had to show extreme delicacy in making contact with opposition groups. And it confronted the post-war diplomatic revolution during one of the saddest periods in its history.

At precisely this time the State Department was reeling under a series of shattering blows. Under President Truman's Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, it was attacked by Republicans and other critics, and Acheson was held up as an example of a striped-pants, pussy-footing, cookie-pushing diplomat aflutter before the cynical toughs of Communism. This was, particularly for Acheson, ridiculous criticism. But charges became political issues with a national cry to "clean out" the State Department.

AFTER Eisenhower's victory, Acheson was succeeded by John Foster Dulles. He made no secret of his dislike of most of the State Department career apparatus. This was the era of "massive retaliation." There was a feeling that with the Strategic Air Command a State Department was unnecessary. The crowning catastrophe was the emergence of Wisconsin's Senator McCarthy whose attacks on the department sent its prestige in Congress plummeting, demoralized its workers and damaged its influence abroad.

It was during this period that the C.I.A. was born and hired its first 10,000 employees. The shift of power and function was eased by the fact that after 1953 Allen Dulles served as head of C.I.A., while

his older brother led the State Department. In general, they agreed to the new division of labor.

As guerrilla warfare broke out in a number of areas, the C.I.A. enlarged its military function. This was a novel and unwelcome activity as far as the American military was concerned, particularly since the Army was already being reduced to a shadow by budget cuts and the dominance of the Air Force and Navy, which had little interest in petty fights on the ground. By the time of the Bay of Pigs, the C.I.A. was in the paramilitary business on a fairly large scale, but this fiasco cost the C.I.A. some of its men and functions. They were turned over to the Department of Defense. There is now emerging, some observers think, significant tension between Defense and C.I.A., especially with the creation of the Defense Intelligence Agency, which may be the beginning of one of those intelligence rivalries to which the trade is prone.

THE C.I.A. has its own problems, now that it is under fire. In the time scale of the bureaucratic lifespan, it is approaching middle-aged respectability. The most dramatic sign is the agency's new "Spy Palace," a sparkling \$50,000,000, seven-story, million-square-foot edifice of contemporary design in Langley, Va.

Even his friends think that the building is one of Allen Dulles' few serious errors and refer to it sadly as "Allen's Folly." They feel it makes surveillance by enemy agents easier. It is also a revelation of the C.I.A.'s size and power that will raise the covetous hackles of other agencies — the State Department and Defense Department look drab by comparison — and it makes a dazzling target for Congress. Worst of all, it is feared that C.I.A. employees will be encouraged to feel pride in conventional bureaucratic status rather than in an aris-

tocracy of silence, unorthodoxy and anonymity.

The emergence of the C.I.A. as a visible political fixture goes on in small ways and large. A few years ago it was not even listed in the Washington telephone book but now it is, along with the address of its employment office in downtown Washington. (This office, incidentally, is left scrupulously unmarked). The C.I.A. recruits college graduates (starting salary usually around \$5,000) competing with the Peace Corps and General Dynamics. A year ago C.I.A. Chief McCone asked Congress to provide better pensions for spies. And the agency has participated in two of Washington's most authoritative rituals of bureaucracy: it has been picketed (by pacifists) and it has been beaten in a zoning fight (by, among others, Mrs. Kennedy's stepfather).

THE retirement of Allen Dulles and the appointment of John McCone symbolized for many the passage of C.I.A. into a new era. Dulles grew up in the middle of its history, took an active part in international drama, loved intelligence case work and was fascinated by the men who were in the field. He was succeeded by McCone, a businessman, believed to be far more rigid and doctrinaire, and valued for his unsentimental talents as an organizer rather than for his stimulation of creative individuals.

There is an irreparable flaw in any defense C.I.A. makes for itself: It is, in the best of circumstances, contrary to conventional American democratic philosophy. The American ethic calls for self-determination by people abroad, with no outside interference, and it calls for an enlightened electorate at home. It is against secrecy in government, its own and others.

Needless to say, this ethic has always been a goal rather than a perfect achievement, but it puts secrecy and inter-

ference on the defensive. The C.I.A., more than any other single agency, represents the dilemma modern America faces in a world where it proclaims the Democratic ethic but where the consequences of nuclear miscalculation and surprise are intolerable.

It is into this scene of confusion and anxiety that Congress is now moving, to exercise its instinct to watch and control the spending of money. A joint committee of both chambers has been proposed, to act as a select set of supervisors in the manner of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. Nothing remotely like the surveillance of atomic-energy matters now exists for intelligence operations. Secret operations of C.I.A. are under the jurisdiction of a special committee of the National Security Council, but this is a highly secure Presidential unit, hardly a public overseer. There is also a Presidential appointed board of consultants, consisting of distinguished citizens, but in its first six years it has had a staff of only one plus a secretary, and its members have been both deferential and incurious.

SUBCOMMITTEES of the House and Senate Armed Services and Appropriations Committees have nominal jurisdiction over C.I.A. but they, too, have acted gingerly. The attitude was epitomized by Senator Leverett Saltonstall, of Massachusetts, a member of two of the subcommittees, who said, after the U-2 affair, that he hesitated to probe too far because "we might obtain information which I personally would rather not have."

The House C.I.A. subcommittee meets about five times a year and each session lasts less than three hours. The Senate subcommittee has had about the same schedule for

the last ten years. It is not likely that there is a thorough review in 15 hours a year of an agency that spends more than \$500,000,000 in over 70 countries.

But intelligence executives are appalled at the idea of Congressional surveillance. The heaviest spectre that hangs over them is that of the late Senator McCarthy. But their fear is even deeper. No intelligence network in the world operates in public. In its operations, lives are at stake, policies are in balance

and crucial relations with both friendly and hostile nations depend on discretion. The agency must move quickly in crisis, and report to the President in utter candor no matter how unpopular its message.

"I wouldn't mind a man like Mike Mansfield," one experienced C.I.A. man said, "but when I think of a wrecker or a blabber it turns my blood cold."

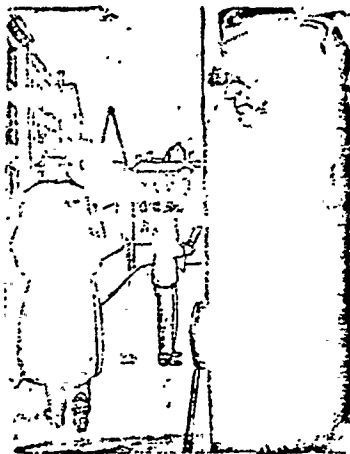
Intelligence operatives re-

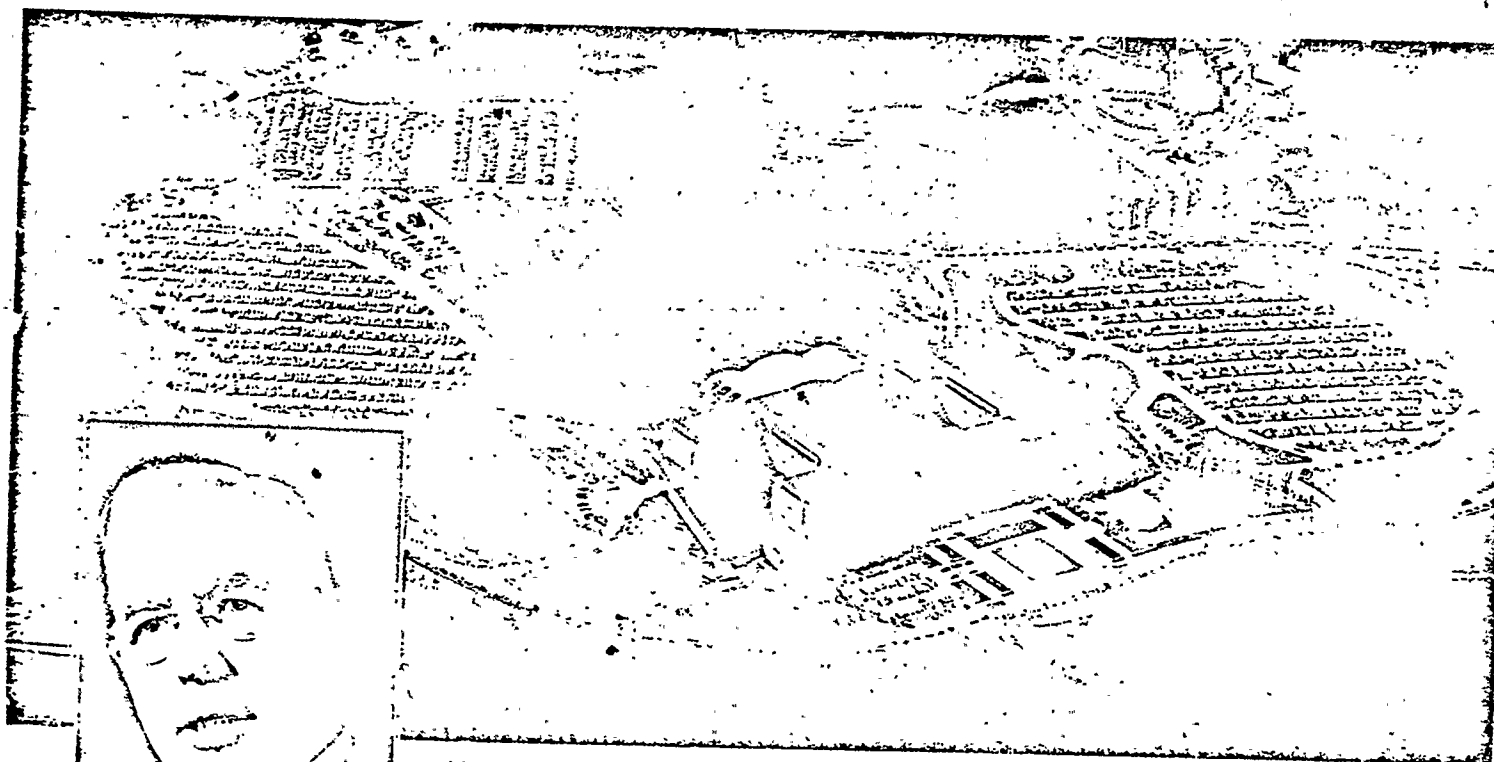
member "Tawny Pipit," code name for a C.I.A. operation which McCarthy and his ally, Senator Pat McCarran, both ruthless witch hunters, helped to break up. John Paton Davies, in 1949 a leading State Department expert on the Far East, devised the plan. It would have created an American study group on China made up of distinguished scholars, including some pro-Communists (as well as an unannounced C.I.A. man). The group would inevitably make contact with Red China; the pro-Communists would become the Red Chinese-Russian contacts inside the study group. Then the C.I.A. would introduce phony intelligence about Russia to help sow dissension between the two Communist allies.

MCCARTHY, to publicize his attacks on Davies, used this as "evidence" of Davies' "pro-Communist" sympathies. When General Smith of the C.I.A. told McCarran's Internal Security Subcommittee the truth, it was too late to save either Davies or "Tawny Pipit."

One alternative to Congressional surveillance is more explicit responsibility by the President and the Secretary of State. But this, too, presents a problem. The C.I.A. is a "dirty" operation and the President and the Secretary of State have to stay "clean." Unpleasant things done in a cynical world are rarely admitted by heads of state. And two exceptions, the U-2 affair and the Bay of Pigs, both harmed the position of the President of the United States.

As the glamour of the black arts decreases, the boldness of Congress will grow. Yet the dilemma has no completely satisfactory solution: secret intelligence is defeated by publicity; democracy is defeated by not enough.



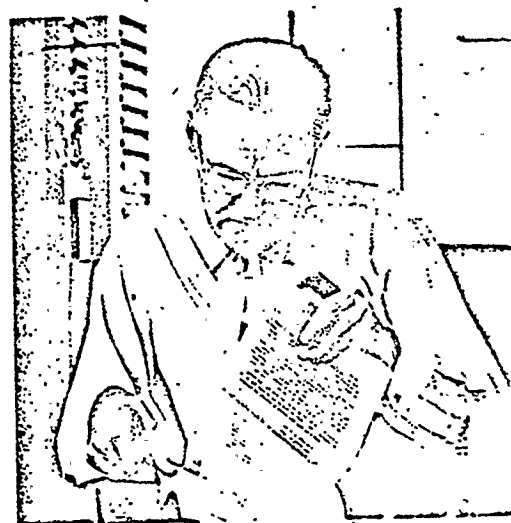


HUSH-HUSH HEADQUARTERS—The C.I.A. used to operate out of offices kept so secret that former President Eisenhower once got

lost trying to find them. Now, under businessman John McCone (left), it is quartered in this new \$50-million building in Langley, Va.



"SUPERSPIES"—Under its last two chiefs, General Walter Bedell Smith (left) and Allen W. Dulles, the C.I.A. attained great power.



CRITIC—Disturbed by C.I.A. activities in Vietnam, Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge challenged the agency's authority there.

Office Memo. *amm* • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO :

DATE: June 16, 1955

FROM :

SUBJECT: ARTICLE ENTITLED "WHAT PRICE SECURITY?"
BY BEN H. BAGDIKIAN - "WASHINGTON EVENING STAR"
JUNE 1, 1955

This article refers to an engineer who went to work at the Quonset Naval Air Station, Providence, Rhode Island, in 1946. The article states he made exaggerations on his application regarding his past experience. The Civil Service Commission (CSC) charged fraud and withdrew his security clearance. The article also states that the individual was a security risk.

1410-C-1619-01

WHAT PRICE SECURITY.

Political Buccaneers Exploit Loyalty Setup

By BEN H. BAGDIKIAN

Two years ago Dr. John Punnett Peters of Yale was dropped as a security risk from his part-time job as adviser on a Government panel. It was a minor event lost in the national spectacle over internal security.

But his case may end the se-

Fourth of six articles on the Government's loyalty-security program.

curity system as it has operated for eight years.

The Supreme Court has agreed to review the case of Dr. Peters to see if he was deprived of constitutional rights, even though it has long been agreed that no one has a constitutional right to a Government job. Dr. Peters asserts that today the term "security risk" involves more than loss of a Government job. He asserts it also includes a livelihood, a profession or a place in society.

The original design of the security system was to provide department heads enough information to decide which citizens would be suited for Government work in times of international stress. No guilt or innocence was involved, no punishment, no deliberate effect on private life. This way, the Constitution presented no barrier. But political exploiters had other ideas.

Program Exploited

Adventurers were quick to recognize that the security issue offered fame, fortune and political power. By spectacular exploitation, the original intent of the program has been changed until today the "security risk" label may cripple a man's position for a lifetime, despite the undisputed fact that the great majority of risk cases have nothing to do with disloyalty.

Even in loyalty cases, no determination of legal guilt is involved. In 1949 for example, Dr. Peters was investigated and cleared. In 1951, his case was reopened, and this time he was charged with Communist Party membership, which he denied and, after a hearing, he was cleared again. In 1953, he was charged again. The appeal board did not know the identity of the accusers or even if they had made the accusations under oath. Dr. Peters again denied the charges under oath and presented witnesses, including an ex-president of Yale. The Government presented no case. In June of that year he was dismissed as a security risk.

May Kill System

If the Supreme Court decides that the Government should present a legal case, on the basis that the "security risk" label is too disastrous for a man to carry without legal safeguards, then the present security system will be ended. For thus the critics of security cannot be blamed. The fault will lie with those exploiters of security whose sloppy methods, incompetent administration and harassment of innocent persons wrecked the only possibility of a fair and efficient program.

Confusion from high sources has not helped. Statistics show that the great majority of security cases involve no suspicion of disloyalty. Yet high officials have often given the public the impression that the term "security risk" involves treason. Postmaster General Arthur Summerfield referred to security risks in this manner: "Somehow I do not feel too amiably inclined toward people who make treason a preoccupation." Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, Republican, of Wisconsin, referred to security risks: "Almost all of them removed because of Communist activities or connections or perversion." Gradually the term has become a horrid label that can ruin men's lives.

The distortion of security has affected not only Government workers, but their bosses.

It became difficult to carry security matters in a calm and sensible manner. Too often, when "security" enters the door, common sense goes out the window. This was demonstrated in the case of a Rhode Island industrial engineer.

Doomed by White Lies

The engineer went to work at Quonset Naval Air Station, outside Providence, in 1943, and soon became a key man designing a badly needed jet overhaul building. He so impressed his superiors that they urged him to apply for a Civil Service promotion, which he did.

In his application he repeated certain exaggerations he had made about his past experience. In his original application for Civil Service he had said he earned \$5,000 while at Western Electric some years past, and that as a private consultant he had supervised as many as 1,000 men. The facts were that at Western Electric he had earned \$4,500 a year, and as a private consultant he had supervised nowhere near 1,000 men. Asked why he made the exaggerations, the engineer said he had wanted the job and that such "padding" was almost standard in Civil Service circles.

The Civil Service Commission held up the promotion, charging "fraud" on the application. It withdrew the engineer's security clearance. The engineer's superiors in the meantime told him to ignore the matter, which appeared a minor administrative routine since there was no question of the engineer's ability or his accomplishments at Quonset. While he was a "security risk" the engineer was part of a key group testifying to a Navy bureau on a proposed Navy installation he had helped design.

Dickering between Civil Service and the engineer, with the local Navy superiors on his side, went on for four years after he had gone to work at Quonset. Then the engineer was ordered to resign as a security risk.

Not a Risk

He began a long series of trips to Washington, paying travel expenses for himself and his lawyers. But no one wanted to take responsibility for lifting a "security risk" label. Finally the Secretary of the Navy convened a special board which, after an extended hearing, declared that the engineer was not a risk and that he had been more than punished for his application statements. The board affirmed his contributions to naval air defense.

For the next year, the engineer could not get a job. He wrapped bundles and delivered packages. A full year afterward he found that Quonset was answering queries from prospective employers by stating merely that the engineer had been relieved of duty because he had lost his security clearance. The base did not say the clearance was reinstated.

The engineer spent more than \$4,000 on the case, has been out of engineering work for two years. A Federal court said it could do nothing for him.

The same hypertension about security moves it into more than irrelevant individual cases. It has moved it into irrelevant fields of research, such as in the curing of disease.

Sickle cell anemia, for example, is a congenial, weakening disease with no known cure. About a million Americans are susceptible to it. The research is entirely open. No secrets are involved.

Dr. Linus Pauling, of the Cali-

fornia Institute of Technology, probably knows more about the basic blood problems involved than any other man. He is a former president of the American Chemical Society and last year's Nobel Prize winner. He is "controversial." The Russians have attacked his theory of resonance (explaining how molecules are held together) as "outrageous."

In this country Senator McCarthy, Louis Budenz and others have said Dr. Pauling was part of the Communist conspiracy. Dr. Pauling has denied this under oath on several occasions, saying the accusations stem from the fact he is a pacifist and has signed every peace petition he could get his hands on.

Dr. Pauling was once refused a passport by the State Department (which relented when he received the Nobel Prize). The Voice of America once denied a French request to let Dr. Pauling be interviewed on a tape recording for interested Frenchmen.

More recently, Dr. Pauling applied to the United States Public Health Service for research grants to investigate sickle cell anemia. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare denied the grant. Secretary Oveta Culp Hobby said her department does not make grants for persons where there is "substantial information bearing on loyalty."

Such a policy, though, has often been considered a device to protect agencies from political attacks rather than against sub-

version. In some cases scientists with political enemies who have applied for grants for medical research have been told nothing by the Government but indirectly have been informed that they would do better if they applied for their academic department and left their own names off the application.

Shortly after Dr. Pauling was refused the Government grant for research on sickle anemia, the department of chemistry at the California Institute of Technology (chairman: Dr. Pauling) applied for the same grant, using names of two associates but omitting that of Dr. Pauling. The grant was quickly made.

Later the National Science Foundation, also a Government agency but with a different opinion, quickly granted money to Dr. Pauling in his own name.

In such cases, there is every evidence that the greatest loss is not to the individual, but to the Government and the public.

Dr. Henry M. Winston, president of Brown University, has said:

"If a scientist is henceforth to be judged not by what he does scientifically, but what he does socially, if he is barred from things which he does superbly because of things he does not do well, we are setting curbs upon the progress of the United States for which all of us will pay a bitter, and it may be a fatal, penalty."

Tomorrow: The price our diplomacy pays.

(Released by North American)